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Talking about the National Probation Service and the 'treatment' of intimately violent offenders: questioning the 'what works' debate

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**TALKING ABOUT THE *NATIONAL PROBATION SERVICE* AND
THE 'TREATMENT' OF INTIMATELY VIOLENT OFFENDERS:
QUESTIONING THE 'WHAT WORKS' DEBATE**

Nicola Jayne Ballantyne

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

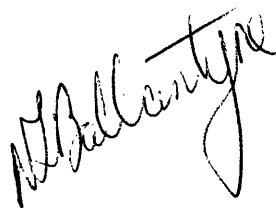
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The government's pursuit of 'evidence-based' practices within the *National Probation Service* (NPS) emphasises evaluating offending behaviour programmes. These evaluations produce mixed findings largely because methodological limitations facilitate inconclusive results. My study did not seek to overcome these shortcomings; indeed, I question whether it is possible to definitively answer 'what works' in perpetrator programmes. I provide an alternative way of undertaking research into the 'treatment' of intimately violent offenders using a Foucauldian form of discourse analysis.

My research draws on in-depth interviews, questionnaires, programme observations, and programme manual and case file analysis undertaken in one NPS area. In analysing the data, I outlined the institutional domains of the assessment, case management and programme. I considered the official and unofficial rhetoric about the 'treatment' of (male intimately violent) offenders, and how practitioners and intimately violent men in my study used this. Two key discourses were delineated. One is risk discourse about *dealing with* offenders by assessing, managing and *reducing* risks of re-offending; the other is rehabilitation discourse about *working with* offenders to change attitudes and behaviours to *end* crime.

My study argues that risk discourse was prominently talked about throughout the different institutional domains. Albeit a fading discourse, rehabilitation was used more within the programme domain. I conclude that individuals' use of these discourses varies within and throughout domains, because of investments. Practitioners in the domain of case management draw on official rhetoric to talk about *managing* offenders' risks because this implies they are 'doing their job'. Violent men used this rhetoric to talk about *reducing* their own risks of violence since this indicates compliance with their court orders. These findings question the legitimacy of the NPS to protect women from men's violence and evaluative research that relies on men's linear stories of violence.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACE:	Assessment, Case Recording and Evaluation
BSC	British Society of Criminology
CAQDAS:	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CBT:	Cognitive Behavioural Therapy
CDVP:	Community Domestic Violence Programme
CM:	Case Manager
DVP:	Domestic Violence Programme
DVPA:	Domestic Violence Programme Assessment
ETS:	Enhanced Thinking Skills
HMIP:	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation
HMSO:	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
HORS:	Home Office Research Study
IDAP:	Integrated Domestic Abuse Programme
LSI-R:	Level of Service Inventory-Revised
NAPO:	National Association of Probation Officers
NGO:	Non-Government Organisation
NPD:	National Probation Directorate
NPN:	National Practitioners' Network
NPS:	National Probation Service
NS:	National Standards
NSPCC:	National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty To Children
PC:	Probation Circular
PSR:	Pre Sentence Report
OASys:	Offender Assessment System
RDSD:	Research, Development and Statistics Directorate
RSD:	Research and Statistics Directorate
SARA:	Spousal Assault Risk Assessment
UK:	United Kingdom
US:	United States

INTRODUCTION

Offending behaviour programmes have become a dominant mode of ‘treating’ offenders in the *National Probation Service* (NPS).¹ They are interventions that seek to change the offending behaviours of those offenders who take part in them. The programmes are based upon theoretical models of change that use specific methods of delivery designed to teach participants skills that they are thought to lack, in order to equip them with the tools to change their criminal behaviours. Perpetrator programmes have been designed for offenders in general as well as for specific types of offenders such as drink-drivers, substance abusers, sex offenders and domestic violence offenders. Whilst these types of programmes have been operating throughout the probation service in varying degrees during the 1990s, it is at the turn of this century that some programmes have been accredited (Home Office, 1999a; NPS, 2001). Accredited programmes are thought to be able to reduce the re-offending behaviours of those offenders who take part in them (Hollin, McGuire, Palmer, Bilby, Hatcher and Holmes, 2002a, 2002b; Rex, Lieb, Bottoms and Wilson, 2003; see NPS, 2001). Recent research does not support this belief (Cann, Falshaw, Nugent and Friendship, 2003; Falshaw, Friendship, Travers and Nugent, 2003; Hollin Palmer, McGuire, Hounscome, Hatcher, Bilby and Clark, 2004).

Domestic violence programmes have been operating since the 1980s, both in the voluntary and statutory sectors (Dixon 2000; Eadie and Knight, 2002). It is only in the last two years that probation areas began implementing an accredited intervention (Correctional Services, 2004; see also Bilby and Hatcher, 2004; Home Office, 2003a). This was because of the lack of research to inform the design of a programme that was capable of altering the offending behaviours of male domestic violence perpetrators (Home Office, 2000a).

¹ The terms ‘treatment’, ‘treated’ and ‘treat’ are suspended in inverted commas throughout the thesis because of the contemporary misuse of these terms. Their use today does not often denote what ‘treatment’ signified in the 1960s (i.e. connotations of a medical model) (Harris, 1980; see also Bottoms and McWilliams, 1979). I therefore use these terms to suggest something that is being done, or to be done to the offender (or individuals) in order to address criminal behaviours.

In response to such critiques and in order to understand ‘what works’ in domestic violence programmes, I had originally conceived of my study as an evaluation. A review of the British and American literature exposed many complexities and nuances in understanding ‘what works’ in such interventions, including the difficulties of carrying out a rigorously designed evaluation. Uncertainties in this research led me to conceive of an alternative way of understanding the ‘treatment’ of male domestic violence offenders in the probation service. This way was discourse analysis.

This introduction specifically discusses my study. It considers how I changed focus from an evaluative study to a discourse analysis and the reasons for this. I discuss the aim and objectives of my research. I then define some of the key terms used throughout this thesis. The outline of the thesis is also presented. First, it is important to understand what domestic violence is as well as the extent of the problem in England and Wales. This serves to justify a study focused on the ‘treatment’ of domestic violence offenders.

Defining, Quantifying and Addressing the Problem of Domestic Violence

Acts of domestic violence can encompass a wide range of experiences (Mirrlees-Black, 1999). Dobash and Dobash (1979, 1984) suggested that it includes psychological, physical, economic and sexual abuse. Psychological (or emotional) violence includes verbal abuse, intimidation and threatening behaviours (Mullender, 1996a; Pence and Paymar, 1993). Physical violence is defined as any contact made with the woman’s body by either the man’s body or an object coming off his body in some way (e.g. thrown, kicked) (Hearn, 1996; Mullender, 1996a). Economic abuse is viewed as withholding money or controlling the household income (Pence and Paymar, 1993). Sexual violence in an intimate relationship, as in any context, can range from coercion into viewing pornographic material through to rape (Kelly, 1988; Kelly and Radford, 1998; see also Prins, 1995).

Some feminists have defined domestic violence as abuse perpetrated by men upon women in intimate relationships as well as against female ex-partners (Morley and Mullender, 1994), whereas broader definitions include abuse inflicted by and upon any

family member and relative (Home Office, 2004a; Mirrlees-Black, 1999; Walby and Allen, 2004).² In terms of my research, it is domestic violence also termed intimate violence (physical, sexual, economic and psychological) perpetrated by men against current and former female partners that is the focus of the research (whether married and unmarried, estranged and together, co-habiting and living apart).³

With reference to the extent of domestic violence in England and Wales, research suggests that approximately one in four women have experienced intimidating threats and physical assaults from partners and ex-partners at some time in their lives (Mirrlees-Black, 1999). In addition, one in twenty women experienced such violence within the year prior to the 1996 *British Crime Survey* (Mirrlees-Black, 1999). Research into domestic violence is therefore important because such abuse is a key source of ‘criminal violence’ and thus illegal behaviour (Blackburn, 1995:359). Given the private and sensitive nature of intimate violence (Kershaw, Budd, Kinshott, Mattinson, Mayhew and Myhill, 2000) research indicates that only approximately one in eight incidences are reported to the police. Moreover, in the year before the 1996 *British Crime Survey*, only 17 per cent of victims said that the police knew about domestic violence acts committed against them. This indicates that very few perpetrators come to the attention of the authorities (Mirrlees-Black, 1999), including that of the probation service (Mullender, 1996a).

When perpetrators are apprehended they can be convicted of a wide range of offences including criminal damage, affray (public disorder), common assault, assault occasioning actual bodily harm, rape and murder (Gilchrist, Johnson, Takriti, Weston,

² Some definitions of domestic violence include non-familial carers as perpetrators of such abuse (see Leicester Partnership Against Crime and Disorder, 2006).

³ This is not to suggest that domestic violence does not take place outside heterosexual relationships. On the contrary, it is thought to occur in bisexual, gay, lesbian and ‘transgender’ relationships (Home Office, 2003b:9; 2004b; RESPECT, 2000, 2004). It is also thought that women commit violence against male partners and ex-partners (Home Office, 2004b; Mirrlees-Black, 1999; see also Freeman, 1979). Furthermore, I use the terms intimate violence and domestic violence interchangeably throughout this thesis. They both refer to the four types of violence. However, the advantages of using the term ‘intimate violence’ are two-fold. Firstly, the term ‘domestic violence’ can suggest abuse that is inflicted by and upon a range of family members or relatives as broad definitions of the term suggest (see Home Office, 2004a; Mirrlees-Black, 1999; Walby and Allen, 2004). My focus is much narrower referring to the abuse committed by men against female partners and ex-partners. Secondly, and related, the term ‘domestic violence’ may indicate abuse that is committed solely within a ‘domestic’ context, for example, in the home. Such violence particularly that talked about in my study, is not confined to this sphere (see Dobash and Dobash, 1984; Morley and Mullender, 1994).

Beech and Kebbell, 2003; Home Office, 2000b; NAPO, 1998). This is because there is no single offence enshrined in law that covers the term 'domestic violence' (Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003; see also Home Office, 2000b). The sentence imposed depends, usually, on the severity of the offence/conviction (Gibson, Cavadino, Rutherford, Ashworth and Harding, 1994; Wasik and Taylor, 1991; Ward and Davies, 2004; see chapter one for a discussion about this). Men may be sentenced to a Community Rehabilitation Order (Home Office, 2000c). If this is the case, they are then supervised by the NPS for the duration of their order (Home Office, 2002a). Sometimes the courts attach specific conditions to these orders such as the completion of a perpetrator programme (Home Office, 1996a). This is so that the offending behaviour can be changed (Scourfield and Dobash, 1999). The following section discusses how I had originally set out to evaluate such a programme.

The Research Journey

As an ex-probation service officer and student of criminology, I passionately wanted to impact positively on the development of perpetrator programmes. I developed my MSc dissertation as an evaluation of a domestic violence programme (DVP). This evaluative research had suggested further areas worthy of study. These included understanding men's motivation for attending programmes and differences in programme outlines, and the subsequent effect these might have on changes in men's abusive behaviours (Ballantyne, 2001). With this in mind, I had proposed carrying out a comparative study of two different domestic violence programmes for my PhD research.

During the first and second year of my PhD, I reviewed research on evaluations of domestic violence programmes that had been carried out in the United States (US) and in the United Kingdom (UK). This research is discussed in chapter two. What was emerging from this literature was the complexity in understanding and unpacking the many apparent 'factors' integral to 'what works' in changing domestic violence offenders' behaviour. Moreover, it was perceived that if the design of the evaluation were rigorous then the outcome would be viewed as somewhat absolute and certain (Weiss, 1972).

For the most part many of the evaluations carried out on domestic violence programmes were not considered rigorous. Some of the suggested limitations of these studies

included: problems with using random samples; lack of control and comparison groups; small sample sizes; lack of follow-up research post intervention; and variance in outcome measures.⁴ Such limitations are thought to impinge upon the reliability and validity of the research findings (Bowen, Brown and Gilchrist, 2002; Burns, Meredith and Paquette, 1991; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Eisikovits and Edleson, 1989; Gondolf, 2004). Moreover, authors had suggested that rigorously evaluating the outcome of interventions within a social setting, such as a perpetrator programme delivered to offenders in the community, was difficult (Pawson and Tilley, 1997; Weiss, 1972). For instance, Pawson and Tilley (1997) argue that the traditional experiment (consisting of a control group and experimental group) is unrealistic. They suggest that given the number of potential 'factors' that may influence change, it is important to understand the processes of interventions and the reasons how and why they may bring about change, as opposed to concentrating solely on outcomes of programmes (see also Crow, 2001; Mair, 1991; Weiss, 1972). I therefore focused on carrying out a more in-depth study to understand the implementation of the programme within the organisations studied, and the subsequent effect on change in men. A detailed study required more time, so I focused on one site for the research rather than two.

The use of different outcome measures in evaluations is also problematic. Some studies consider that a reduction in violence is indicative of a successful programme, whereas other research might use the cessation of abusive behaviours as suggestive of an intervention that 'worked' (Edleson, 1996; Eisikovits and Edleson, 1989; Tolman and Bennett, 1990; Tolman and Edleson, 1995). Some studies had focused on the offender's acceptance of blame and responsibility for violent behaviours as indicative of positive interventions (Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Burton, Regan and Kelly, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Skyner and Waters, 1999). Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis (2000) considered that offenders must accept responsibility and blame for violence in order to begin the process of changing abusive behaviours. A review of some of the literature, including my own on men's accounts of violence suggests that their explanations for abusive behaviours often do

⁴ Outcome measures are those used by researchers to gauge the success of an intervention. In terms of offending behaviour programmes these could include changes in attitudes and reductions in re-offending behaviours (Underdown, 1998).

not make sense. Violent men could accept *and* deny blame and responsibility for violence (Ballantyne, 2001; Hearn, 1998a; Ptacek, 1988). Understanding men's accounts of violence as simple linear narratives of change is thus problematic.

Moreover, given the limitations of evaluative research on domestic violence programmes, the claims that researchers were making about outcomes, such as the extent of men's violence after the programme, were not certain (e.g. that men's abuse had reduced). Indeed, researchers had acknowledged that there was a possibility that men's talk could be different from their actions. Men could use the language of the programme to represent their violent behaviours. In other words, men might be providing the 'right' replies about their abuse by 'talking programme talk' (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000:171; see also Burton *et al.*, 1998). Hearn (1998a) suggests that when violent men recount their abusive behaviours they are often influenced by the context in which they are 'treated'. He noted that men's talk became similar to practitioners' talk.

During the second year of my PhD and whilst gathering my data, I continued reading the literature, which as mentioned, emerged the complexity of men's accounts of violence. It was becoming clear that it was not appropriate to take their narratives and present them as 'evidence' of success or failure of programmes, like some evaluative research had done. There was a possibility that men's accounts were constructed within the contexts of their 'treatment'. I eventually began to think of offenders' talk as a way of understanding how violent men represent their actions in different institutional contexts (e.g. the programme) for different audiences (e.g. programme workers). What might be seen as an acceptable account in one setting might be viewed differently in another context (see Scott and Lyman, 1968). As such, a representation of an event that claimed to depict some form of 'reality' or experience might possibly be one of many versions that might have been narrated (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Plummer, 1995; Strinati, 1992). In this sense, I was beginning to think of knowledge as multiple and diverse.

It was after the second year of my PhD and after gathering the data that I became fully aware of the implications of the above and thus shifted away from an evaluative study (chapter four discusses how I did this in more detail). This was facilitated by a

theoretical and analytical approach that supported the foundations of my thinking about the complex and diverse nature of knowledge. Here the work of Foucault (1981, 1989) particularly his understanding of knowledge as discourse is important. He saw knowledge as statements that were institutionally and historically produced and circulated. He thought that by deconstructing such statements understanding could be sought (see also Burton and Carlen, 1979; Derrida, 1970, 1978). I talk more about this concept of deconstruction in chapters three and four. At this stage, it is important to say that it formed the basis for the theoretical and analytical approach of my revised study. My study is an analysis of the use of ‘treatment’ discourses by both practitioners and violent men in one NPS area. The following section discusses this in more detail.

The Study

In chapters one and two, I note a disjuncture in narratives about the purpose of ‘treating’ offenders. On the one hand, the aim is considered as to reduce re-offending and on the other hand, the aim is thought to be to end crime. Drawing on the reviewed literature, the first two chapters marry these aims with two discourses about how to ‘treat’ offenders. The first discourse is risk and this comprises language that seeks to reduce re-offending. The second discourse is rehabilitation and this consists of language that aims to end crime. These chapters suggest that risk discourse is about *dealing with* offenders by assessing, managing and reducing risks of re-offending, whereas rehabilitation discourse is about *working with* offenders to change their attitudes and behaviours to end crime.

Chapter one argues that risk discourse, as a way of dealing with offenders is the dominant official rhetoric (see Kemshall, 1998, 2000). This rhetoric suggests for instance that the aim of community sentences is to ‘minimise risk of harm to the public’ and ‘reduce the likelihood of re-offending’ (Home Office, 2002a:C2). This discourse of risk is part of a wider governmental agenda to present an image of a publicly and politically accountable probation service that protects the public (Hedderman and Hough, 2004; Robinson and McNeill, 2004). Dominant rhetoric and official talk about practices of the state can subordinate any alternative stance (Burton and Carlen, 1979), like rehabilitation, as a way of working with offenders (Feeley and Simon, 1992). This is because practitioners are likely, though not always, to uphold the dominant organisational ethos of policy and practice (Hearn, 1998a, 1998b).

Robinson and McNeill (2004) argue that practitioners do not passively use the official rhetoric that they are exposed to in their work. Garland (2001) suggests that a reconfigured rhetoric does not take shape (i.e. become dominant discourse) unless practitioners absorb it into their everyday talk about practice. Until then, the system is in transition, open to the influences of other circulated and pre-existent rhetoric. He suggests that a perception that a language is outdated, like for instance that of welfare, does not mean that individuals do not talk about it. Garland (2001) also recognises that official rhetoric can be influential. Hearn (1998a) suggests then that the contexts of agencies (including that of criminal justice) and the talk of practitioners' (who work within such agencies) are important to consider when understanding intimately violent men's explanations for abusive behaviours.

These contentions about the dominant and less dominant discourses of 'treating' offenders formed the basis of my study. My thesis is a discourse analysis that focuses on the wider context of men's 'treatment' within one NPS area. The fundamental question asked in this thesis is how this area 'treats' intimately violent offenders. The study aimed to answer this question by:

analysing the ways in which the 'treatment' of intimately violent men is constructed in the context of the probation service, using a discourse analysis approach.

This task was broken down into a number of objectives. These were:

- (i) to explore the deployment of discourses in the official and unofficial instruments used to *assess* men;
- (ii) to consider practitioners' use of dominant and less dominant discourses in their *supervision* of offenders;
- (iii) to analyse the deployment of discourses in the domain of a domestic violence *programme*; and
- (iv) to understand intimately violent *men's* use of discourses in their talk.

The practice areas of assessment, supervision (i.e. case management) and programme were seen as separate domains and were broken down into such. This was because I followed the path of intimately violent men post-sentence (or post 'self-referral'), from assessment, to supervision, to commencement and completion of the DVP. The fourth domain of men's talk is not institutional. It was a domain though where discourses were used. This is discussed further in chapter four. The site of my research was one probation area of the NPS and a partnered non-government organisation (NGO).⁵ This non-government agency co-ran the DVP with probation.⁶ The details of this particular programme are discussed more in chapter two, but in brief, it involved a closed group of men taking part in eighteen core group-work sessions and five monthly relapse sessions, which lasted for one year. There were eleven men involved in the research. Eight of these men had received convictions for their criminal behaviours and they had subsequently been sentenced to a Community Rehabilitation Order with a condition to attend the DVP. Three men had 'self-referred' via the non-government agency to the DVP.⁷ Fourteen practitioners involved in some way with the men's assessment, supervision and programme, also took part in the study.

To understand how practitioners and violent men talk about the 'treatment' of intimately violent offenders, their talk was analysed in the following:

- (i) 25 interviews overall with violent men (I originally planned carrying out three interviews each with the 11 intimately violent men but there numbers decreased throughout the study); and one interview each with 10 practitioners (35 interviews in total);
- (ii) questionnaires with 14 practitioners and the violent men;
- (iii) case files of these men;
- (iv) the domestic violence offending behaviour programme manual; and

⁵ This thesis centres almost exclusively on the probation area, particularly in terms of its supervision of offenders and the dominant discourses used to talk about this. This is because eight of the ten practitioners interviewed worked within the probation service, whereas the NGO comprised of only a few practitioners. As such, most of the practitioners' talk comes from workers within the probation service. Moreover, the non-government agency does not necessarily supervise men like the probation service (e.g. outside of the DVP).

⁶ The NGO also offers a women's support service to partners and ex-partners of men on the programme (see for example Burton *et al.*, 1998; see also chapter four).

⁷ It is doubtful whether some men 'self-refer' on a purely voluntary basis since they often receive pressure from social services and female partners and ex-partners to attend an intervention to address their abusive behaviours (Burton *et al.*, 1998).

- (v) observations of the group-work programme (this involved 48 hours of observation).⁸

In practice, I was involved with the organisations, the practitioners, and intimately violent men in terms of observing and documenting their experiences of, and responses to criminal justice interventions, for one year (2002-2003).

Defining Terms Used in the Thesis

It is important to mark out the meanings of specific terms and phrases used throughout the thesis. These terms are ‘official talk’ as well as ‘unofficial’ speak, ‘practitioners’ talk’, ‘programme talk’ and ‘men’s talk’, and ‘risk’ and ‘rehabilitation’. Official talk is the speech of the government and it usually stems from official publications of the state (see Burton and Carlen, 1979). Thus, I define talk not just as spoken words but also written texts (see Gill, 2000). In respect of my research, this official talk most often ruminates in the Home Office and the National Probation Directorate. Conversely then, unofficial speak is that which does not come from this official domain. Such talk may come from NGOs, non-accredited programmes developed by a local probation service, or ‘independent’ academics and researchers.

The term practitioners’ talk comes from the interviews with probation practitioners and the workers in the NGO in my study. This talk is about probation practices in general, and more specifically about intimate violence and the interventions to ‘treat’ perpetrators of such abuse. The content of programme and men’s talk is similar. Programme talk emanates from the programme. This includes texts such as the programme manual, and practitioners’ and men’s accounts spoken within this domain (i.e. drawn from the observations). Men’s talk specifically comes from the interviews with the violent men.⁹

The term risk is used throughout the thesis to mean perceived risks of re-offending and subsequent harm to the public (these are usually drawn from official and sometimes

⁸ Chapter four discusses these research methods in more detail as well as the attrition rate of violent men throughout my study.

⁹ Talk by men during the programme is not called ‘men’s talk’ because such talk emanates from within the domain of the programme (i.e. talk during the actual programme). Hence, it is termed ‘programme talk’. It is important to demarcate between the different domains in order to understand the influence of these contexts on talk (see more about this in chapter four).

unofficial assessment tools). In relation to my research, this is about the perceived risks of violence and harm presented to partners and ex-partners of the intimately violent men. In my study, risk is a way of dealing with offenders and it refers to the assessment, management and reduction of re-offending behaviours. Rehabilitation, on the other hand, is talk about working with offenders to change their attitudes and behaviours to end crime (namely male violence against women in intimate relationships). The use of the term ‘rehabilitation’ derives from the ‘treatment’ model of the 1960s and its attempts to end criminal behaviours (see chapter one). The following section outlines the direction of the thesis.

Outline of the Thesis

The following chapter lays the foundations to my research question. It reviews the existing literature to provide a framework in which to understand the changing ethos and practices of the probation service. It begins by detailing the history of the organisation. A discussion follows about rehabilitation and the decline of this model of ‘treating’ offenders during the 1970s. The use of welfare-oriented practices during the 1980s in the probation service to help offenders is then discussed. The chapter progresses to understand how this approach declined. The political climate is important here; indeed, it is a prominent theme running throughout this first chapter. It facilitates an understanding of the key shifts in penal thinking from rehabilitating offenders to helping them, to punishing and managing them. Specific policies and initiatives from the early 1980s to the present day are discussed including *National Standards*, the *Criminal Justice Act 1991*, the effective practice initiative and the ‘what works’ agenda. The chapter illustrates that during the 1990s an alternative view of punishing offenders in the community was emphasised. This facilitated a vision of the probation service as an organisation that protects the public (Robinson and McNeill, 2004). Drawing on the literature, I argue that to project this vision, the official dominant focus is on the use of risk discourse that suggests dealing with offenders by assessing, managing and reducing risks of re-offending.

The purpose of chapter two is to understand the debate about ‘what works’ in the ‘treatment’ of domestic violence offenders. ‘What works’ is discussed in detail and this includes outlining the development and history of offending behaviour programmes, including what is thought to ‘work’ in these interventions. The literature on evaluative

research is considered, with a particular emphasis on evaluations of domestic violence programmes. The complexity in carrying out such research is discussed. This in turn highlights the uncertainties surrounding ‘what works’ in domestic violence programmes. The political climate discussed in the last chapter is also drawn upon in this chapter to argue that the discourse of risk and offending behaviour programmes as a dominant mode of dealing with offenders is thought to be dominant, not because of the perceived ‘evidence-based’ research underpinning, but because of the apparent governmental need, to present a vision of a legitimate probation service that protects the public (Robinson and McNeill, 2004). In reviewing the literature, this chapter also discusses a discourse of rehabilitation that consists of working with offenders by changing their attitudes and behaviours to end crime. This discourse appears to be fading, facilitated by the implementation of particular policies and practices detailed in chapter one.

The dual-purpose of chapter three is to understand how intimately violent men talk about their abusive behaviours and to identify the ‘factors’ thought to be important in understanding domestic violence offending. This chapter develops the conceptual framework that guides my study. It begins by reviewing studies about how intimately violent men recount their abusive behaviours. Hearn’s (1998a) research on violent men is particularly important. This is because he conceptualises and demarcates the excuses and justifications that men use when they explain their violence. This chapter also distinguishes between literature that considers the use of such techniques by individuals to project a fixed and knowing ‘self’ (Goffman, 1968, 1971, 1972; Sykes and Matza, 1957); and literature that views the construction of the ‘self’ as unfixed and contradictory (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Hollway, 1998). Foucault’s (1981, 1989) work on discourses is discussed to illustrate the production of knowledge as deriving from institutional and historical domains.

The second half of this chapter considers ‘factors’ that are thought to be important in understanding domestic violence offending. Two camps are delineated. One camp situates ‘factors’ thought to be linked to the pathology of violent offenders and to social structural ‘factors’, and the other camp suggests the intentional use of violent behaviours. The review illustrates how these ‘factors’ are considered in the ‘what works’ literature as ‘criminogenic needs’ and ‘dynamic risk ‘factors’’. The chapter

argues that there are similarities between the way offenders talk about their intimate violence, the ‘factors’ thought to be integral to such abuse, the ‘what works’ literature on ‘needs’ and ‘risks’, and the discourses of rehabilitation and risk demarcated in chapters one and two. The significance of these similarities becomes clearer later in the thesis when understanding how violent men draw on the rhetoric to which they are exposed *and* that has investments for them (see below).

Chapter four considers the research aim and objectives. It details how I gained access to the organisations and participants in my study, as well as ethical issues and researcher’s safety. The chapter progresses to consider the methods I used to gather the primarily textual data and how this was used in the revised study of a discourse analysis. I also discuss the data that was excluded and the reasons for this. This chapter details how, drawing on my theoretical and analytical approach, I managed and analysed my data. The use of NVivo 2, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software is considered. I then present a highly detailed discussion of the process of my data analysis. A whole picture of the data is presented. The chapter ends by considering some of the perceived limitations of my analytical approach.

Chapter four argues for an alternative approach to studying the ‘treatment’ of domestic violence offenders that moves beyond evaluative studies to discourse analysis. My approach does not overcome the limitations of evaluative studies but seeks a different way of conceiving and carrying out research in this area. Evaluative research might have sought to find some ‘truth’ in the inconsistencies in men’s accounts of violence to understand whether programmes ‘work’. In my study contradictory accounts are made sense of by understanding how they co-exist and are subsequently used by practitioners and violent men to talk about the ‘treatment’ of male intimately violent offenders in an area of the NPS.

Chapter five discusses the findings of the research. It presents data that illustrates the use of risk discourse as a way of dealing with offenders by assessing, managing and reducing re-offending. The chapter illustrates this talk emanating from within:

- (i) the official rhetoric (i.e. publications of the state) about the accredited assessment tools used to assess offenders' needs and risks;
- (ii) practitioners' talk about their current practices as case managers and programme workers;
- (iii) the unofficial rhetoric of the unaccredited programme manual and observations of this programme; and
- (iv) intimately violent men's talk.

I use this chapter to argue that practitioners and violent men similarly draw on the official (and unofficial in terms of the programme) rhetoric to talk about how to deal with intimately violent offenders, in terms of risk discourse.¹⁰ Both practitioners and men use this discourse because there are incentives for them to do so. These incentives or investments (Hollway, 1998), which include the presentation of an unspoiled 'self' (see Goffman, 1971), mean that accounts comprising of such dominant talk are likely to be accepted (i.e. understood and thus no further account is necessary) (Scott and Lyman, 1968) within the varying institutional domains studied in the organisations in my research.

In the next chapter, I present data that illustrates the use of rehabilitation discourse as a way of working with offenders by changing their attitudes and behaviours to end crime. The chapter illustrates this talk emanating from within:

- (i) the unaccredited assessment tools, and thus, unofficial rhetoric about the assessment of offenders' needs and risks;
- (ii) practitioners' talk (e.g. case managers and programme workers);
- (iii) the programme rhetoric (i.e. the manual and observations); and
- (iv) men's talk.

I argue that practitioners and intimately violent men similarly use the unofficial (and pending official in terms of the accredited domestic violence programme) rhetoric to talk about how to work with intimately violent offenders, in terms of rehabilitation discourse. There are fewer investments for them to use this discourse within the over-

¹⁰ The rhetoric of the DVP in my study is considered as 'unofficial' because the intervention was not accredited (see more about accredited programmes in chapter two).

arching context of the organisations studied. Therefore, accounts consisting of such talk may still be accepted within some of the institutional domains, particularly within the programme, but may be less talked about in other areas of probation practice studied, like case management.

The final chapter summarises my research and concludes the study. It charts the existing literature, reiterates the research aim, the analytical approach adopted, and reviews the key findings from the analysis of the data, and the implications of these. The findings from the study suggest that practitioners and violent men talked about both risk discourse *and* rehabilitation discourse as ways of ‘treating’ intimately violent offenders in an area of the NPS. In analysing both ways of talking about ‘treating’ intimately violent men (risk and rehabilitation), I have attempted to make sense of the use of two perceivably contradictory discourses, a dominant discourse (of risk) over a less dominant (rehabilitation) discourse (see Foucault, 1989; Gill, 2000). Risk discourse, as a way of dealing with offenders, was most talked about. This dominant discourse was used throughout the different domains of probation practice, in the assessment, case management and programme, as well as in men’s talk. Such dominant rhetoric can subordinate talk about other ways of ‘treating’ intimately violent offenders (see for instance Burton and Carlen, 1979).¹¹ In my research, rehabilitation discourse, as a way of working with offenders, was still talked about, but much less. It gained most influence and legitimacy (i.e. it was used more and accepted) in the domain of the programme. The implications of these findings are discussed with particular reference to policy, practice and future research.

¹¹ For this reason my study does not specifically address any other ways of ‘treating’ offenders (and individuals) (e.g. social crime prevention, restorative justice, see chapter two).

CHAPTER ONE

THE (NATIONAL) PROBATION SERVICE: FROM REHABILITATION TO RISK MANAGEMENT

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a framework in which to situate the current ethos and practices of the *National Probation Service* (NPS). This builds the foundations for the argument underpinning the thesis that in the current climate the rhetoric of risk management is the dominant language of the probation service rather than rehabilitation (and welfare). It is important then to illustrate the shifts in penal thinking over the last century. The chapter begins by considering the history of the probation service. The discussion continues by outlining rehabilitation and its influence on penal measures in the 1960s. The demise of such an approach during the 1970s is considered. The use of welfare-oriented practices during the 1980s in the probation service to help offenders is then discussed. The chapter progresses to understand how this approach declined. The political climate is considered. Here reduced spending in criminal justice and the emphasised role of punishment within the community in the late 1980s and early 1990s are addressed. Key policies and subsequent initiatives over the past 20 years are discussed. These include *National Standards*, the *Criminal Justice Act 1991*, the effective practice initiative and ‘what works’. The ‘what works’ agenda is discussed in more detail in chapter two. This chapter illustrates that these policies and initiatives served to project a vision of a legitimate probation service that protected the public by primarily managing offenders’ risks (see Garland, 2001; Robinson, 1999; Robinson and McNeill, 2004; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992).

Chapter one highlights key shifts in penological thinking during the last century from rehabilitating offenders to managing them. Two discourses are delineated with rehabilitation and risk management. The former is aligned with a discourse of rehabilitation about *working with* offenders to end crime and the latter with risk discourse concerned with *dealing with* offenders to reduce re-offending. This demarcation is drawn from the literature discussed in this (and the next) chapter. This chapter ultimately illustrates the dominant use of risk discourse as a way of dealing with offenders in the NPS.

1.2 The Probation Service: From Rehabilitation to Risk Management

In 1907 the Probation of Offenders Act gave probation officers a statutory role ‘to advise, assist and befriend’ offenders who had come under their supervision (Bailey, 1995:127; Worrall and Hoy, 2005:78). Probation officers were viewed as respected citizens who helped offenders by sharing the knowledge of their experiences with them. The remit of the probation service expanded over the years in its work with adult offenders, and by the 1960s, this included those serving custodial sentences (Worrall and Hoy, 2005). Prisons evolved as sites of ‘treatment’ and sentences of probation were common. Much value was placed in casework, psychotherapy and counselling (Brody, 1976). The overarching penological thought during the 1960s was dominated by a belief in rehabilitation. This approach was premised upon the notion that crime was the outcome of an individuals’ biology, psychology or social circumstance. Thus, it was considered that offenders could be diagnosed, ‘treated’ and cured of their criminal behaviours (Hudson, 1987; McIvor, 1997; Worrall and Hoy, 2005; see also Crow, 2001).

Hudson (1987) suggests that during the 1960s rehabilitation was adapted to the needs of the offender as opposed to focusing on the crime that they had committed. She argues that this led to ‘individual sentences’ like probation and indeterminate custodial sentences (1987:17). The latter was premised on the belief that offenders would remain in prison until they were cured. Individuals could therefore serve long prison sentences that were not commensurate to the crime that they had committed (Worrall and Hoy, 2005). By the early 1970s, this model of ‘treatment’ was in decline (Hudson, 1987). Hudson (1987) argues that there were a number of reasons for this. These included criticisms from the left about civil liberties relating to the unfair system of sentencing that intervened into individuals’ lives, and the notion espoused by right-wing critics that rehabilitation was a soft approach to the problem of crime and criminals. Moreover, there was a growing belief that rehabilitation did not ‘work’ in reducing recidivism (see for example Brody, 1976; see also Worrall and Hoy, 2005 and chapter two).

Bottoms and McWilliams (1979; see also Brody, 1976) suggest that this 'treatment' model may not have 'worked' because the theory upon which it was premised was inaccurate. They argued that the aetiology of criminal behaviours should not be viewed as solely pathological. Instead, much crime might be viewed as chosen. As such, they suggest that the probation service adopt an approach based on help as opposed to the 'treatment' model of rehabilitation. This approach would not differ too much from the original practice of the probation service in the early part of the 20th Century, discussed above. Bottoms and Williams (1979) envisaged that probation officers would help offenders materially and with other problems such as difficulties in relationships, in order to reduce crime.

Garland (1997:3) suggests that this welfare approach 'was part of, and drew support from a wider, political project, the project of the welfare state'. This project focused on providing help to disadvantaged individuals, families and communities. This is because crime was perceived as linked to their needing help. As such, material help was considered important to offenders on probation because of the inequalities that they were thought to be experiencing (Oldfield, 2002). Similar to the 'treatment' model of rehabilitation, this welfare approach did not focus on the crime committed (Garland, 1997; see Hudson, 1987). In contrast to rehabilitation, the offender defined and directed the type of help received (Bottoms and Williams, 1979; see also Oldfield, 2002).

During the 1980s, the probation service was largely considered as an organisation that focused on the welfare of offenders (Faulkner, 1995). As suggested, this involved helping offenders with their social and personal problems like conflicts with family and difficulties with accommodation (Bailey, 1995; Garland, 1997; Raynor, 1988). Such work was often undertaken via individual casework (Faulkner, 1995). During the 1990s, this approach was perceived to be in decline (Burnett, 1996; Farrall, 2004; see also Humphrey and Pease, 1992; Oldfield, 2002). This perception is discussed below. It is important to understand significant events that might have led to the decline of the welfare-focused approach.

1.2.1 The Decline of the Welfare-Focused Approach

The Conservative government elected in 1979 placed law and order high on their right-wing political agenda. They considered that crime was chosen behaviour and thus the responsibility of the individual. As such, they emphasised deterring offenders through harsh punishments, for instance, by sending more of them to prison. Crime, for this government, was not the outcome of social-structural or environmental problems (Whitehead and Statham, 2006; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). Home Office ministers therefore dismissed ‘factors’ such as unemployment, poor accommodation and poverty as related to offending behaviours (King, 1991). During the 1980s, the Conservative government began to dismantle parts of ‘the project of the welfare state’ that provided welfare assistance to citizens (Garland, 1997:3; King, 1991; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). This had implications for the probation service. Bottoms and Williams’ (1979) suggestion of helping offenders with their material and other welfare-related problems would be of little use in reducing crime according to the Conservative government’s views about the aetiology of offending behaviours (Whitehead and Statham, 2006).

During the 1980s, the Conservative government also sought to curb unnecessary spending in the public sector, including the probation service. The Financial Management Initiative, which began in 1982, was part of the government’s ‘Value for Money’ ethos and the quest to deliver efficient and effective public services at low cost (Fowles, 1990:84; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). The probation service was therefore made to demonstrate its accountability particularly its cost effectiveness (Burnett and Roberts, 2004). To facilitate this, the government increased its control over the individual probation services by the introduction in 1984 of the *Statement of National Objectives and Priorities* (Worrall and Hoy, 2005). This document set out the aims of probation, which were to divert offenders from custody to non-custodial penalties (i.e. to decarcerate). The emphasis for probation appeared to be on saving money by reducing the use of custody (Fowles, 1990). This conflicts with the Conservative government’s rhetoric on tough punishment. From the late 1980s onwards the government sought to make the probation service more politically and publicly accountable by standardising practice and hardening-up the view of the organisation. The introduction of *National Standards* in 1989 was symbolic of these moves; another was the *Criminal Justice Act*

1991 (Hedderman and Hough, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). The following discusses the latter.

Worrall and Hoy (2005) suggest that by the early 1990s debates centred on whether crime could be stopped, exemplified in part by a rising prison population. Feeley and Simon (1992:455) describe the emergence of ‘new penology’ that did not seek to end crime but to manage offenders. They argued that community sentences provide cheaper options to manage the risks posed by offenders. Prisons, which are more expensive, serve to manage serious risks presented by dangerous offenders (see also Vass, 1990). This notion was compatible with government rhetoric about reducing spending in criminal justice (Worrall and Hoy, 2005).

In the light of the decline of the rehabilitative approach, Von Hirsch (1996:315) suggests giving offenders their ‘just deserts’. Of central concern is the seriousness of the crime and that sentencing is commensurate with this (rather than focusing on the offender and their rehabilitation like during the 1960s) (see Hudson, 1987). This is encapsulated in the *Criminal Justice Act 1991*. Politically, the Act was seen as a response to the rising prison population and the problem of overcrowding because it reserved custodial sentences for the more serious offences, particularly those of a sexual and violent nature (Worrall and Hoy, 2005). For this reason, Rex (1998a) argues that the Act’s purpose was to reduce spending in criminal justice, particularly prisons.

The *Criminal Justice Act 1991* also espoused the government’s rhetoric about tough punishment. In this sense, it was a response to the perceived views of sentencers (the magistrates and judges) that any alternative sentences to custody were viewed as soft. The Act introduced Probation Orders as a community sentence. They were not to be viewed as an *alternative* to custody, as they were previously (i.e. perceived as a soft option), but as part of the sentencing framework. The restriction of liberty that Probation Orders imposed was to be seen as commensurate with the seriousness of the offence (Worrall and Hoy, 2005). At the same time as reserving custody for the most

serious crimes, the Act introduced longer prison sentences for those offenders convicted of such offences. On the one hand, the Act emphasised retribution in community sentences. On the other hand, it endorsed incapacitation via the imposition of custodial sentences to protect the public from dangerous offenders who presented serious risks of sexual and violent harm (Flood-Page and Mackie, 1998; see also Worrall and Hoy, 2005). In this sense, some feminist activists argue that custodial sentences are necessary for domestic violence perpetrators so that women are protected whilst men are in prison (as well to send out the message to men and society that violence against women is not acceptable). As such, some feminist activists do not support policies that seek to divert offenders from custody (Horley, 1990; see also Mullender, 1996a).¹² Hudson (1987:37) termed the 'just deserts' approach to sentencing the 'justice model'. In contrast to the 'treatment' model of rehabilitation, the justice model stressed individuals' responsibility for crime (see also Pitts, 1992). This reflected the Conservative government's view that offending behaviours were chosen (Worrall and Hoy, 2005).

1.2.2 Punishment in the Community

The *Criminal Justice Act 1991* emphasised 'punishment in the community' and the implications for the probation service were far-reaching (Raynor, 1997:21; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). If the large majority of offenders were to be seen to be punished in the community on tough penalties (Raynor, 1997; Worrall and Hoy, 2005), then the probation service of the 1990s had to be considered by the courts (i.e. those who pass sentence) and the public as a credible and accountable organisation that could do this (Hedderman and Hough, 2004; see also Faulkner, 1995). The Conservative government sought to end the vision of the probation service as an organisation that helped offenders (Spencer and Deakin, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). As suggested, the introduction of *National Standards* facilitated this (Hedderman and Hough, 2004; see also Humphrey and Pease, 1992). This official document sets out the minimum standards of probation practice to be met when supervising offenders in the community.

¹² This is despite the debates about whether prison can reduce or end men's violence (see Mullender, 1996a).

This includes standards for the frequency of contacts with offenders subjected to community sentences; the enforcement of such orders; and writing reports for the courts (Home Office, 1996b).

Simultaneously, the early 1990s also saw a 'renewed commitment to rehabilitative work with offenders' (Burnett and Roberts, 2005:3; see also Scourfield and Dobash, 1999). This is best exemplified in what has become known as the 'what works' debate (Burnett and Roberts, 2004; Robinson, 2001). Crudely, in its most basic form, 'what works' suggests a model for effective probation practice. The prescriptive agenda of 'what works' was implemented in the late 1990s as the effective practice initiative (Knott, 2004; Mair, 2004a; Robinson, 2001). This initiative set out a number of best practice guidelines in the supervision of offenders, including the specific areas of offender assessment, case management, and delivery of programmes (Chapman and Hough, 1998).

'What works' is discussed in more detail in the next chapter, but at this stage it is important to say that it also had a significant impact on recent changes in probation practice. Its implementation has meant that the probation service is more politically scrutinised than before. This is because 'what works' was synonymous with moves to project a vision of a credible organisation (Mair, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c). Spencer and Deakin (2004:211) suggest that with respect to 'what works', many of the recent policies and practice developments are characteristic of the new Labour government elected in 1997 and their criminal justice response to continue to support decarceration; to be viewed as 'tough on criminals' in the community as the previous government; and to be seen to be carrying out positive interventions with offenders in terms of reducing re-offending. Like the *Criminal Justice Act 1991* (see Rex, 1998a), Spencer and Deakin (2004) argue that also underlying 'what works' were economic outcomes (these are discussed in chapter two).

The new Labour government continued to erode the vision of a welfare-focused probation service and present an image of a public protection agency. Integral to this

were the changes they made in the late 1990s to the training of probation officers (Robinson and McNeill, 2004; Spencer and Deakin, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005; see also Cavadino, Crow and Dignan, 1999; Feeley and Simon, 1992; Humphrey and Pease, 1992; Nellis, 2001). Worrall and Hoy (2005:86) argue that the new training and the revised probation officer qualification, the 'Diploma in Probation Studies', was significant in altering this perception of the probation service and of the work of a probation officer (see also Spencer and Deakin, 2004).

To enhance the vision of a credible and accountable probation service, the 54 individual probation services amalgamated to form the NPS, legislated in the *Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000*. The unified service comprised of 42 probation areas (divided up into 10 regions) of England and Wales (Home Office, 2000b; Mair, 2004b; NPS, 2001; Partridge, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). The probation service had become a centralised national organisation (Worrall and Hoy, 2005).¹³ Robinson (2001) argues that 'what works' facilitated the formation of a national probation service, since implementing the agenda to individual probation services might have resulted in inconsistent practices (Mair, 2004b). Spencer and Deakin (2004) suggest that centralising the probation service allowed the government more scope to monitor probation areas in terms of their compliance with policies.

At the turn of the century, the NPS was presented as a tough law enforcement organisation (Worrall and Hoy, 2005; see for example Home Office, 2000d; NPS, 2001). As suggested and like the previous government, the new Labour government espoused the rhetoric 'tough on criminals'. The rationale of their policy was to manage offenders preferably in the community, by emphasising the enforcement of orders. In this way, it was thought that offenders would comply with their community sentences (Spencer and Deakin, 2004). *National Standards* were revised at the turn of the century to allow for more rigorous enforcement of orders (Hedderman and Hough, 2004;

¹³ In 2004 the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) was created to join the work of the probation and prison services for the thorough management of offenders (Home Office, 2005; see also Worrall and Hoy, 2005).

Spencer and Deakin, 2004). *National Standards* state that breach proceedings may be initiated against an offender if they, just once, unacceptably fail to comply with the order. If two unacceptable failures to comply are noted in a year, the offender will be returned to court (Home Office, 2000d; 2002a). The offender then risks revocation of the current order and re-sentencing for the original offence (see Office of Public Sector Information, 2003; see also Hedderman and Hough, 2004). This may result, but not always (Farrall, 2002; Mullender and Burton, 2001), in offenders receiving a more punitive sentence (NPS, 2001). Thus, the NPS (2001) aims to punish offenders via the enforcement of orders. Probation areas are given an incentive to do this: 40 per cent of their budget is allocated because of maintaining standards in enforcement. Areas that fall short of the minimum *National Standards* risk losing money from their centrally financed budgets.

Some of the other aims of the NPS include reduce re-offending; protect the public; and rehabilitate offenders (NPS, 2001). Worrall and Hoy (2005:31) argue that ‘modern rehabilitation’ is not concerned with the welfare of the offender. Instead, the focus is on the offending behaviours (see also Garland, 1997, 2001) but the aim is not to end crime (Feeley and Simon, 1992; Robinson, 2002). ‘Old’ rehabilitation, adopted during the 1960s, was premised upon the belief that offenders could be cured of their criminality (Hudson, 1987). ‘New rehabilitation’ has been recast as a mechanism for managing risk, *reducing* crime and protecting the public (Garland, 1997; 2001; Robinson, 1999:430; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992; Nellis, 1999; Spencer and Deakin, 2004). Robinson (1999:430) suggests that this rhetoric of risk management (as a way of dealing with offenders) is a ‘new rehabilitation’ that seeks to reduce the risks of re-offending (see also Garland, 2001). ‘New rehabilitation’ and ‘risk management’ are therefore synonymous strategies that ultimately aim to protect the public (Robinson, 1999:430, 2002).

This argument is further exemplified in *National Standards*. This document has been revised several times since its introduction in 1989, largely to reflect government policy, as the above suggests (Hedderman and Hough, 2004; see also Spencer and Deakin, 2004). In 1995, *National Standards* suggests that the purpose of a Probation Order was ‘securing the rehabilitation of the offender, protecting the public from harm from the offender, or preventing the offender from committing further offences’ (Home

Office, 1996b:17; see also Gibson *et al.*, 1994). In 2000, this had changed to describing some of the generic purposes of a community sentence as ‘*reduce* the likelihood of re-offending’ and ‘rehabilitate the offender, *where possible*’ (Home Office, 2000d:C2; *my emphasis*). The latest edition of *National Standards* (that was in use at the time of my research) indicates that some of the aims of community sentences are to ‘reduce the likelihood of re-offending; rehabilitate the offender, where possible’; and ‘*minimise risk* of harm to the public’ (Home Office, 2002a:C2; *my emphasis*).

These official documents reflect the shifts over time in penal thinking from rehabilitation and the prevention of crime to reducing risk of re-offending. The current official rhetoric appears to advocate the protection of the public through reducing the risks of harm and re-offending posed by offenders over the rehabilitation of these individuals (see also Chapman and Hough, 1998; Spencer and Deakin, 2004). Robinson and McNeill (2004) argue that this public protection rhetoric facilitates a vision of a legitimate criminal justice organisation that is politically and publicly accountable. The following section discusses this public protection rhetoric in more detail.

1.3 The National Probation Service

1.3.1 The Rhetoric of Public Protection and Risk Management

Being seen to enforce orders is indicative of a new NPS that punishes offenders. It presents an image of a credible organisation that protects the public (Hedderman and Hough, 2004; NPS, 2001). The 2002 *National Standards* emphasises this by stating the minimum contacts that are to be made with offenders who are subjected to a court order. The standards state that during the first 12 weeks of an order, a practitioner such as a Probation Service Officer, Trainee Probation Officer, Probation Officer, or Senior Probation Officer must make 12 contacts with the offender, usually on a weekly basis. These contacts are a minimum and they increase depending on the level of risk of harm (e.g. low, medium, high and very high, see Home Office, 2002b) assigned to the offender during their initial assessment. High-risk offenders would normally be seen or contacted more regularly than low-risk offenders (Home Office, 2002a). An official postal survey found that in terms of prioritising workloads, 29 of the 42 probation areas suggested that making contacts and supervision sessions with the offender, particularly at the initial stages of a court order, was a main priority (Home Office, 2002c).

A key strategy for the probation service to protect the public is assessing the dangerousness of offenders in terms of the level of risk they present (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Kemshall, 1995, 1998; NPS, 2001; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992). One of the guidelines from the 'what works' agenda, discussed in the next chapter, stresses the importance of assessing offender risk so that the appropriate resources are allocated to reduce risk of re-offending (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Home Office, 1999a; McGuire, 2000; NPS, 2001). Feeley and Simon (1992) suggest that this allocation of the most expensive resources to the more risky offenders is indicative of a managerialist approach that serves to manage risks posed by dangerous offenders (see also Clear and Cadora, 2001). Studies suggest that expensive and scarce resources like offending behaviour programmes are allocated to the more risky offenders (Home Office, 2002c; Partridge, 2004; Robinson, 2002; see also Garland, 1997, 2001). This appears to concord with government rhetoric about the economical use of resources (see Fowles, 1990; Spencer and Deakin, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005; see also chapter two).

This focus on assessing offender risks has led to the implementation of a comprehensive and perceivably valid assessment tool (Merrington, 2004; Robinson, 1999). The accredited Offender Assessment System termed OASys has supplanted the previously used instruments known as Assessment, Case Recording and Evaluation (ACE) and Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R) (Home Office, 2002b, 2003c; Merrington, 2004; Merrington and Hine, 2001; NPS, 2001; see also Maung and Hammond, 2000, 2001; Raynor, Kinch, Roberts and Merrington, 2000 for assessments of these latter tools). OASys attempts to measure both offenders' risk of harm and risk of re-offending (Merrington and Hine, 2001). The implementation of a standardised risk assessment tool, like OASys, is thought to increase the likelihood that offenders' risks are consistently measured (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Kemshall, 1998; NPS, 2001). Yet, Kemshall's (1998) research suggests otherwise.

Kemshall (1998) sought to understand the meaning of risk interpreted by probation officers. In her study, she administered six vignettes that illustrated different offenders' cases to probation officers. She then interviewed officers about their views on each scenario. Findings suggest that they defined and identified risk in different ways, and the use of standardised risk assessment methods (such as those just detailed) did not

guarantee agreed concepts. There was a difference in the perceived types of risk present, the level of risks posed, and the appropriate intervention required to manage risks. Appleton (2004) noted that probation officers relied on actuarial measures of risk derived from the assessment tools as well as their own 'gut' feelings to inform decisions about risk management.

The probation service initially assesses offenders when a pre-sentence report (PSR) is required (Burnett, 1996; see also Home Office, 2004c). Magistrates and judges request this report as a guide to decide the most suitable sentence for the offender (Whittaker, Mackie, Lewis and Ponikiewski, 1997). The practitioner, who writes the PSR, and who may carry out other assessments such as OASys, varies between probation areas. In some instances, there is a specialist PSR writer, who will carry out the entire assessment of the offender, whereas in other areas the probation officer or otherwise known as case manager will do this task (Burnett, 1996). Probation officers, or as they are now more often called case managers, also supervise men during their orders. This supervision entails assessing and managing offender risk; maintaining contacts and enforcing orders in accordance with *National Standards*; planning and directing supervision; prioritising in respect of caseloads; and allocating offenders to appropriate interventions (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Underdown, 1998). This may involve referring offenders on to other agencies outside of the probation service (Home Office, 1996c). The following section considers in more detail the role of the case manager and the make-up of the organisation in which they operate.

1.3.2 Structures of Case Management and the Role of the Case Manager

Case management has been described as:

the staffing structures and organisational processes in place to coordinate and integrate all aspects of community supervision, from the official offender risk and need assessment through to programme delivery and the intended completion of the order (Partridge, 2004:4).

Partridge (2004) administered a survey to all of the 54 probation areas to find out about case management models operating throughout the probation service, as well as carrying out in-depth case studies in five probation areas to explore the practices of the different models of case management.¹⁴ She also interviewed practitioners (and offenders) to understand their experiences of the structures of case management in the different areas. Over half (31) of the probation areas responded and findings indicate the adoption of three different case management models: 'specialist', 'hybrid' and 'generic' (Partridge, 2004:4).

In a specialist case management model separate teams deliver perpetrator programmes, carry out (pre-sentence) report writing, and liaise with other staff and agencies about the specific type of offender that comprise case manager's caseload (e.g. sex offender, high-risk offender). In this model, offenders visit separate teams for assessment, supervision, and programmes. In the generic model, teams carry out a wide variety of tasks and manage offenders from different risk categories, whereas the hybrid model amalgamates parts of specialist and generic ways of supervising offenders. The implementation of a particular type of model varied depending on the local context in terms of staff resources and skills (Partridge, 2004).

Partridge (2004) also demarcates the role of case managers. She (2004:19) distinguishes between case managers as 'brokers of services' or 'providers of services'. The 'broker' assesses offenders, draws-up a supervision plan (e.g. stating how offender risks are to be managed and 'where possible' reduced, see Home Office, 2002a:C3), and then allocates offenders to the most appropriate resources. On the other hand, 'providers' deliver services to offenders directly in terms of carrying out one-to-one work to address offending behaviours, as well as giving advice about non-criminogenic needs ('factors' thought not to be related to offending) (Partridge, 2004). There has been little research into the practices of the case manager (Merrington and Hine, 2001). The following reviews some of the existing studies.

¹⁴ The implementation of the *Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000* reduced the number of probation areas from 54 to 42 (Home Office, 2000c).

Burnett (1996) interviewed 80 probation officers and 40 senior probation officers from 10 different probation services (as they were then) about their work. Findings indicate that whilst referrals to group-work programmes and other agencies were perceived by probation officers as important strategies in reducing re-offending, one-to-one work with the offender was also seen as central to this task (see also Appleton, 2004). Most work undertaken on an individual basis by the probation officer with an offender was offence-focused (Burnett, 1996; see also Mair and May, 1997). During these sessions, at least one quarter of all officers used the following strategies. These were pen and paper tasks, where the offender completed a written exercise (e.g. taken from a manual such as *Targets for Change*, see Marshall *et al.*, 2001, for a revised version) and motivational interviewing (i.e. progressing the offender onto a stage where they are ready to address their problems, Burnett, 1996; see also McGuire, 2000). Officers also used counselling techniques that challenge the offender, and referrals, such as contacting the relevant agencies to arrange liaison with the offender. Only 13 per cent of officers said that they mainly spend their time with offenders discussing problems (Burnett, 1996). In a similar vein, Eadie (2004) administered 150 questionnaires, 82 of which were returned, over a five-year period to newly qualified probation officers in eight probation areas. She found that after the first year of practice probation officers gained the most satisfaction from working directly with offenders.

Burnett (1996:21) suggests that this eclectic approach of supervising offenders is indicative of probation practice that has evolved probation officers' role of 'advise, assist and befriend' to more offence-focused work. This approach is largely unstructured and un-prescribed given the autonomous nature of probation officers in their supervision of offenders in individual sessions. This is despite the constraints imposed upon them by *National Standards* and the increased monitoring of their practices by central government. This eclectic approach was viewed as a way to meet the aims of supervision, which for the vast majority of officers, was to reduce re-offending (Burnett, 1996; see also Mair, Lloyd, Nee and Sibbitt, 1994). Similarly, Rex (1998b) interviewed 60 probationers (offenders on probation) about their views on supervision. Findings suggest that the vast majority of them understood that probation officers sought to reduce the likelihood of their re-offending. Likewise, in Robinson's (2002) 29 interviews with probation staff from two probation areas, findings suggest that the main objective of probation practice in general was to reduce re-offending in

order to protect the public. However, Farrall (2002) found that 59 per cent of the 199 probation officers he interviewed, drawn from six probation areas, said the aim of supervision was to stop offending.

In Mair and May's (1997) interviews with 1,213 probationers drawn from 22 probation areas, none of them mentioned that their Probation Order (which they were then termed) was to stop them from re-offending. Rex (1998b) noted that many offenders spoke about the difficulties of stopping offending completely (see also Bailey, 1995). Humphrey and Pease (1992) carried out interviews with 27 probation officers, drawn from one probation service. In their study, some officers spoke about their limited contact with offenders. Officers said that this militated against working with offenders to end crime. In Farrall's (2002) research probation officers were more likely to carry out the task of aiming for offenders to stop their criminal behaviours by openly discussing the issues relating to the offending behaviour (e.g. alcohol) as opposed to carrying out any structured and written work (i.e. using exercises from an offending behaviour programme manual) (see for example Burnett, 1996). In a similar vein, Mair and May (1997:41) found that over half of probationers in their study said that the 'good point' about probation was that it meant that they could talk to someone, such as their probation officer, about their problems. For instance, a third of the sample suggested that they received practical advice and help. Thus, whilst offending behaviours were discussed in supervision sessions, problems of a personal and social nature relating to employment, accommodation, finances and family were also mentioned (see also Calverley, Cole, Kaur, Lewis, Raynor, Sadeghi, Smith, Vanstone and Wardak, 2004). It might be argued then that probation officers discussed offenders' non-criminogenic needs (i.e. issues relating to their welfare) (see Partridge, 2004).

The findings of these studies are considered important in understanding what are perceived to be the dominant modes of 'treating' offenders. Research on the practices of case managers suggest that they focus on the offending behaviours in individual supervision sessions by adopting an eclectic approach that may involve the offender carrying out written work to reduce re-offending (Burnett, 1996) or where they openly discuss issues to end crime (Farrall, 2002). Some officers in Burnett's (1996) research suggested that they experienced some conflict between the official aims of supervision, such as reducing re-offending, and their own perception of these aims. Just under one

third (31 per cent) of officers said that there was too much emphasis on reducing re-offending and little recourse to helping offenders' with their welfare issues and non-criminogenic needs (see also Farrall, 2002, 2004). Some of the studies indicate that probation officers help offenders with such problems by offering practical advice (Calverley *et al.*, 2004; Mair and May, 1997).

Much of the recent literature discussed above suggests that the practices of the case manager are about *dealing with* offenders as per *National Standards* (Home Office, 2002a), particularly adopting the role of 'broker' (Partridge, 2004:19). Here, case managers assess the perceived level of risks of harm and re-offending presented to the public so that scarce probation resources are assigned to manage and 'where possible' reduce risks of those offenders considered as the most risky (Home Office, 2002c; Partridge, 2004; Robinson, 2002; see also Chapman and Hough, 1998; Feeley and Simon, 1992; Garland, 1997, 2001; Home Office, 2001; 2002a:C3; Kemshall, 1995, 1998; NPS, 2001; Robinson, 2001). Cavadino *et al.* (1999:101) suggest that this managerialist approach has remoulded the probation service by 'the subjection of professional skills or working practices to management ideals in pursuit of goals that are identified by the organisation itself'. Official rhetoric suggests that the goal is to reduce re-offending behaviours (Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001). Many of the studies discussed suggest that case managers' practices accord with this aim (Burnett, 1996; Mair *et al.*, 1994; Rex, 1998b; Robinson, 2002) whereas other research indicates that some case managers believe their task is to end crime (Farrall, 2002).

The implementation of 'what works' as the effective practice initiative has evolved the role of the case manager (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Underdown, 1998). They are pivotal in amalgamating all aspects of supervision and are foremost responsible for their cases, even if offenders' are referred to other interventions and agencies (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Partridge, 2004). Previously when offenders attended offending behaviour programmes in the probation service, case managers would not normally make contact with their cases until they had either finished or failed to attend the programme (Burnett, 1996). With the implementation of accredited programmes, they are the central linchpins in co-ordinating work with programmes. It is anticipated that case managers are to carry out prescribed structured pre- and post-programme work

with offenders during individual supervision sessions. Pre-programme work aims to prepare offenders by motivating them whilst they await the start of the group-work programme. Post-programme work seeks to maintain (any) positive behaviours. It is thought to prevent relapse into offending. It implies seeking to stop crime. In this sense, post-programme work may be more closely associated with the concept of rehabilitation and *working with* offenders (through structured work) to end crime (Merrington and Hine, 2001; see also Home Office, 1999b; Merrington and Stanley, 2004; Underdown, 1998). The next chapter two discusses perpetrator programmes and a discourse of rehabilitation in more detail.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature relating to the changing ethos and practices of the probation service. It began by noting the demise of rehabilitating offenders during the 1970s. The ‘nothing works’ era perceivably contributed to the decline of this model (McGuire, 2000; McIvor, 1997), as well as the political climate at the time that fostered arguments about rehabilitation as a soft approach to ‘treating’ offenders (Hudson, 1987; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). During the 1980s, the probation service was seen to be a welfare-focused organisation that helped offenders with their problems (Faulkner, 1995). It was at this time that the then Conservative government began to reassert its control over the public sector, including the probation service in order to reduce spending in criminal justice, particularly prisons. The government also wanted to be seen to be tough on criminals (Burnett and Roberts, 2004; Spencer and Deakin, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). The introduction of *National Standards* in 1989 aimed to standardise probation practice and toughen-up the view of the probation service (Hedderman and Hough, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). The *Criminal Justice Act 1991* emphasised ‘punishment in the community’ and the probation service of the 1990s had to present a vision of a credible organisation that could supervise offenders on tough community penalties (Hedderman and Hough, 2004; Raynor, 1997:21; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). For this reason, both the Conservative and Labour governments of the 1980s and 1990s were committed to eradicating the vision of the probation service as a social-work agency that helped offenders and project an image of a criminal justice organisation that protects the public (Robinson and McNeill, 2004; Spencer and Deakin, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005).

During the late 1990s and facilitating these moves to present a vision of a publicly and politically accountable organisation, 'what works' was implemented within the probation service as the effective practice initiative (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Knott, 2004; Robinson, 2001). This initiative set out a number of best practice guidelines in the supervision of offenders (Chapman and Hough, 1998). It was argued that the focus on 'what works' facilitated a national service (Mair, 2004b; Robinson, 2001) and in 2001 the NPS was formed (Home Office, 2000c; Mair, 2004b; NPS, 2001; Partridge, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). This ultimately increased central government control over the probation service (Spencer and Deakin, 2004).

The chapter noted that the NPS incorporated 'rehabilitation' amongst its newly stated aims (NPS, 2001). The rehabilitation of today does not seek to end crime (Feeley and Simon, 1992; Robinson, 2002). Instead, it has been recast as a mechanism for managing risk, reducing crime and protecting the public (Garland, 1997, 2001), what Robinson (1999:430) refers to as the 'new rehabilitation'. The revision of *National Standards* over the years appears to support this argument (see Home Office, 1996b, 2000d, 2002a). The official rhetoric advocates the protection of the public by primarily managing offender risks (Garland, 2001; Robinson, 1999). To do this, it appears that assessing risk is important (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Kemshall, 1995, 1998; NPS, 2001). Yet Kemshall's (1998) research highlighted the problematic nature of measuring risk.

Partridge's (2004) research about the three different models of case management, specialist, hybrid and generic, and her delineated role of the case manager as broker or provider was reviewed. Partridge (2004) argued that the needs of the organisation directed case management practices. It seems that the predominant practices of the case manager are about dealing with offenders as per *National Standards*, particularly enforcing orders and, assessing and managing offenders' risks in order to reduce re-offending (see Home Office, 2002a, 2002c; Partridge, 2004; Robinson, 2002). Some studies suggested that there was little emphasis on welfare-focused practices (Burnett, 1996; Farrall, 2002, 2004) whereas other research implied that probation officers helped offenders with their social and personal problems (Calverley *et al.*, 2004; Mair and May, 1997). The studies reviewed here primarily suggest that case managers accord with the official rhetoric of reducing re-offending (Burnett, 1996; Mair *et al.*, 1994,

Rex, 1998b; Robinson 2002), whereas other research indicated that case managers subscribe to the notion of stopping offenders' criminal behaviours (Farrall, 2002).

This chapter has noted an apparent disjuncture in 'treating' offenders within the NPS. On the one hand, the official rhetoric can be described as comprising a discourse of risk that advocates *dealing with* offenders by assessing, managing and reducing risks of re-offending (see Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001; see also Kemshall, 1998, 2000). On the other hand, and discussed more in the next chapter in relation to offending behaviour programmes and thus the institutional domain of the programme, is the unofficial rhetoric about a discourse of rehabilitation that champions *working with* offenders to change their attitudes and behaviours to end crime (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). The use of risk discourse was considered in this chapter in the context of the institutional domains of assessment and case management. Some studies reviewed here also imply that the language of welfare might still be used in the supervision of offenders in the community and in the domain of case management (see Calverley *et al.*, 2004; Mair and May, 1997; Partridge, 2004). As mentioned, some authors believe that official rhetoric can be dominantly used (Garland, 2001; Hearn, 1998a, 1998b) whereas other commentators consider that this is not always the case (Robinson and McNeill, 2004; see also Garland, 2001). These contentions about the disjuncture formed the grounding for my study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE 'WHAT WORKS' DEBATE: OFFENDING BEHAVIOUR PROGRAMMES

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the debate about 'what works' in the 'treatment' of domestic violence offenders within the *National Probation Service* (NPS). The 'what works' agenda is discussed in detail. This involves charting the history and development of perpetrator programmes. The chapter draws upon the political climate discussed in the last chapter to understand how such interventions came to be a dominant mode of 'treating' offenders in the NPS. A detailed discussion about what is thought to 'work' in these programmes follows. The research on evaluations of perpetrator programmes is reviewed, particularly those relating to domestic violence programmes (DVP). The chapter discusses the methodological difficulties of carrying out such research. It also considers how domestic violence programmes are located within the effective practice initiative discussed in chapter one. I therefore start to unpack and contextualise the DVP, which formed the focus of my study.

This chapter serves to illustrate the complexity in carrying out evaluative research on offending behaviour programmes. It highlights the uncertainties about 'what works' in these interventions. It is argued that the rhetoric of risk discourse and the use of offending behaviour programmes as the dominant mode of *dealing with* offenders is thought to be dominant not because of the perceived 'evidence-based' research underpinning its use, but because of the apparent governmental need, discussed in chapter one, to present a vision of a publicly and politically accountable probation service that protects the public (see Robinson and McNeill, 2004).

2.2 Reviewing 'What Works' in Offending Behaviour Programmes

'What works' grew largely as a reaction to the 'nothing works' ethos of the 1970s (McGuire and Priestley, 1995:7). In the 1970s, and perceivably contributing in part to the demise of rehabilitation, reviews of studies carried out on the 'treatment' of offenders suggested that nothing 'worked' in changing their behaviours (McGuire, 2000; McIvor, 1997). One of the criticisms of these reviews, McGuire (2000) suggests,

is not so much that the interventions did not 'work' but rather the evaluative research suffered from weak methodologies (see also Pawson and Tilley, 1997). These flaws in the designs of experiments militated against drawing any clear findings (Brody, 1976). Brody (1976) argues that one of the main problems in the evaluative studies he reviewed was ascertaining whether it was 'treatment' or other influences that brought about the different results. The lack of consensus about the criteria for measuring effectiveness (Hudson, 1987) and the use of recidivism as the sole measure of assessing whether 'treatment' 'worked' also contributed to these arguments. Measuring reductions in re-offending (normally taken as reconviction) rates was perceived to be an inadequate single-measure largely because of the view that offenders might not be apprehended and convicted for the crimes they commit (Brody, 1976; Mair, 1991).

The application of the then new statistical approach of meta-analysis to a number of studies carried out on offender 'treatment' was claimed to be able to produce a clear view of 'what works' in reducing recidivism (Losel, 1995; McGuire, 2000). Meta-analysis allows a number of different studies to be analysed together (McGuire, 2000). It is as Glass, McGaw and Smith (1981) suggest the analysis of data from individual studies to produce a quantitative summary. Some of the suggested advantages of this technique are that studies with small samples can be integrated to produce a more 'reliable' 'treatment' effect premised on the larger sample. There are problems with meta-analysis (Losel, 1995; see also McIvor, 1997). Glass *et al.* (1981) argue that these include the problem of comparing unlike studies characterised by their different research methods and varying samples, and the use of findings from studies that have been designed poorly. These may distort 'treatment' effects (Gondolf, 2004).

The application of meta-analysis has been mainly to studies carried out in the US and Canada on interventions primarily for young offenders (Vennard, Sugg and Hedderman, 1997; see also Losel, 1995). Vennard *et al.* (1997) suggest that such extensive research carried out on an offender population with a maximum age of 21 would have excluded those offenders who have serious long-term problems with drugs or alcohol. These 'factors' may impinge upon the perceived success of a programme (see also Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003). This is because participants may find it difficult to complete the intervention (Dobash, Cavanagh, Dobash and Lewis, 2000; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis,

2000; see below about the impact of completion on ‘treatment’ effect) especially since attending programmes under the influence of alcohol is not allowed in many instances (Claytor, 1996).¹⁵ Moreover, given the differences in legislations, agencies’ backdrop, and types of offenders, uncertainty surrounds the application of findings from these meta-analytic reviews to offender ‘treatment’ in the UK (McGuire and Priestley, 1995; McGuire, 2000; see also Underdown, 1998).

Nevertheless, these reviews facilitated a number of ‘what works’ conferences prepared by the probation service in the early 1990s. These in turn spurred on a number of publications about ‘what works’ in reducing recidivism (Robinson, 2001; see below). The findings from the meta-analytic reviews of studies on the ‘treatment’ of offenders have been interpreted as providing clear guidelines about ‘what works’ in reducing re-offending behaviours (McGuire, 2000). Some of these guidelines are outlined here.

- (i) the allocation of offenders to appropriate services based on their assessed level of risk of re-offending (‘risk principle’);
- (ii) targeting ‘factors’ which are thought to be related to the offending behaviour (the criminogenic needs and dynamic risk ‘factors’);
- (iii) programme components and styles of delivery compatible with the learning styles of offenders (‘treatment’ responsitivity’); and
- (iv) programmes that employ multi-modelled, skills-based techniques with a cognitive-behavioural focus (McGuire, 2000:98; see also Chapman and Hough, 1998:6; Home Office, 1999a; McGuire and Priestley, 1995; Vennard *et al.*, 1997).

Unstructured approaches of working with offenders, such as counselling and individual casework, are thought not to ‘work’ in reducing recidivism. Rather structured and offence-focused work that incorporates the above principles is thought likely to reduce re-offending behaviours (Losel, 1995; McGuire and Priestley, 1995; McIvor, 1997; Vennard *et al.*, 1997). McGuire and Priestley (1995) warn that the reviews of the research do not indicate that there is one approach that ‘works’. As Vennard *et al.*

¹⁵ Hence, domestic violence programmes recommend that men be ‘treated’ for their misuse of alcohol (see Dobash, Cavanagh, Dobash and Lewis, 2000; see also Home Office, 2003a).

(1997) suggest it is an amalgamation of the ‘what works’ guidelines that appear to enhance the effectiveness of interventions. In this sense, ‘what works’ in reducing recidivism is seen as multi-factorial and complex (McGuire and Priestley, 1995; see also Underdown, 1998). The view is that ‘sometimes, with some people, in some circumstances, for some reason, some things ‘work’’ (Pitts, 1992:134).

Underdown’s report in 1998 laid the foundation for instigating ‘what works’ in the probation service (Worrall and Hoy, 2005; see also Robinson, 2001). The aim of the report was to provide guidelines about implementing the effective practice initiative discussed in chapter one. The report detailed findings from a survey that considered the results from 33 (out of 210) perceivably satisfactory evaluations of probation programmes from 43 (out of 54) probation areas (that returned the survey). Eleven of these were considered as examples of good evaluations. Additionally, eleven of the main programmes were scrutinised in practice by inspectors against a detailed set of criteria drawn from the research on ‘what works’ (e.g. risks effectively assessed, programme is responsive). In addition, another postal survey was used to enquire into the implementation of programmes by management. Forty-four probation areas returned the survey. Inspectors then visited seven of these areas. Findings of the report indicate that there was a lack of effort to monitor and evaluate practices; case management failed to integrate programmes effectively into their supervision (e.g. lack of follow-up work post-programme); and there were limited programmes that were thought to have an ‘evidence-base’ to support their use (Underdown, 1998). Underdown (1998) concluded that no area replicated a model of effective practice.

Underdown (1998) argues that there were six group work general offending behaviour programmes in practice that met some of the ‘what works’ criteria against which they were being assessed. Two of these programmes were the Canadian Robert Ross’ *Reasoning and Rehabilitation* and James McGuire’s *Problem-Solving Programme*. The former programme teaches cognitive skills and problem-solving techniques. The latter intervention also focuses on teaching problem-solving skills (Home Office, 1999a, 1999b). Both are particular kinds of cognitive-behavioural intervention (Falshaw *et al.*,

2003). These two academics, Ross and McGuire, have been credited with influencing 'what works' in the probation service (Robinson, 2001; see also Gorman, 2001). Robinson (2001) suggests that probation services began using Ross' *Reasoning and Rehabilitation* programme from the late 1980s. Mid-Glamorgan probation service implemented *Straight Thinking on Probation*, which was based on the *Reasoning and Rehabilitation* programme (Underdown, 1998). The *Straight Thinking On Probation* programme was positively viewed in Underdown's (1998) report.

It was discussed in the last chapter that the implementation of 'what works' in the probation service symbolised a credible organisation (Mair, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c) and a government that was seen to be carrying out positive work with offenders in terms of reducing re-offending (Spencer and Deakin, 2004). The new Labour government strengthened the quest for 'what works' and 'evidence based' practices in the probation service (Mair, 2004b; see also Burnett and Roberts, 2004; Hedderman and Hough, 2004; Kendall, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). They used the latter as their rationale for altering public services particularly making them more accountable, politically and publicly (Worrall and Hoy, 2005). The government's generic Crime Reduction Programme was set up in 1999 to implement 'evidence-based' practice in reducing crime to protect the public. As a result of this programme, an accreditation panel, consisting of 'experts' within the field of criminal justice, was formed to accredit effective programmes. The panel accredits offending behaviour programmes that accord with 'what works' guidelines and are considered able to reduce re-offending (Hollin *et al.*, 2002a, 2002b; Rex *et al.*, 2003). Programmes that are not accredited but are in the process of assessment for national accreditation are called 'pathfinder'. These are piloted with ongoing evaluation and monitoring (Hollin *et al.*, 2002a, 2002b).

Spencer and Deakin (2004) argue that accrediting perpetrator programmes also allowed the new Labour government more control over policy and practices within the NPS (see chapter one). This is because the Home Office (via the accreditation panel) is able to control the number and type of programmes to be delivered in the probation service. By all probation areas delivering specific types of offending behaviour programmes that are

all similar in terms of their cognitive behavioural approach, it is thought that consistent reductions in various types of offending behaviours can be achieved (see also Gorman, 2001; Mair, 2000a). The first lot of pathfinder programmes were implemented in 2000 and included in these were the *Reasoning and Rehabilitation* programme and McGuire's programme, which came to be called *Think First* (Hollin *et al.*, 2004). Both programmes have since been accredited, along with other types of programmes for specific offending behaviours (e.g. sex offending, drink-driving, substance abuse related offending) (NPS, 2001; Rex *et al.*, 2003). Before the accreditation of the *Integrated Domestic Abuse Programme* (IDAP) in 2004 (Correctional Services, 2004), only some probation areas had provided interventions, including perpetrator programmes for domestic violence offenders, largely on an ad hoc basis (Home Office, 2004a; see below). These were based, to varying extents, on a domestic violence programme that originated in the US known as the 'Duluth Model' (Bilby and Hatcher, 2004; see Pence and Paymar, 1993:xiv). Currently, probation areas are in the process of implementing the IDAP (which is derived from the Duluth Model), or the alternative *Community Domestic Violence Programme* (CDVP) (see Home Office, 2003a; see below for more details about these programmes).¹⁶

Monitoring and evaluating practices are important in terms of strengthening the credibility of the probation service (Oldfield, 2002; Pitts, 1992; Robinson, 2001). Evaluations are therefore central to the effective practice initiative and a key component to accrediting offending behaviour programmes (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Hollin *et al.*, 2002a). The following section discusses evaluative research and the impact on general offending behaviour programmes. It serves to highlight the difficulties in carrying out evaluations of perpetrator programmes. The inconclusive nature of the findings from these studies is particularly noted. The chapter begins to question the usefulness of such research.

¹⁶ The IDAP and CDVP are different types of domestic violence offending behaviour programmes that vary in format and delivery. The make-up of the local probation area in terms of the number of domestic violence offenders is thought to influence the choice of programme implemented (Home Office, 2003a).

2.2.1 Evaluative Research: Assessing ‘What Works’ in Offending Behaviour Programmes

The classic experimental design for evaluations has been described as a study that uses experimental and control group, with the former group receiving the ‘treatment’, whereas the latter group usually do not receive ‘treatment’ (Weiss, 1972).¹⁷ The population of the sample to be included in the study are targeted by specific criteria. In terms of evaluating domestic violence interventions, this might be considered as men convicted of committing violence against a partner (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 1995; Taylor, Davis and Maxwell, 2001). Once identified, this sample is randomly allocated to the groups. This technique of randomly allocating the sample to an experimental and control group is thought to account for differences amongst subjects that may not have been controlled for in the initial selection process (e.g. class, age), and that may have an impact on the effects of the intervention. It is thought that once such variables are controlled for, the outcome of the evaluation can be attributed to the intervention under study (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; see also Weiss, 1972). If this is the case, findings from such studies are likely to be thought of as valid (i.e. they measure what they claim to). Moreover, findings are more likely to be seen as substantiated if samples sizes are robust (Dobash *et al.*, 1995).

Tests are usually carried out on subjects in the evaluation before and after ‘treatment’, or in the case of the control group administered at the same time as those in the experimental group (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). These tests are undertaken to measure outcomes of the intervention and their format is influenced largely by what the programme seeks to achieve. Establishing what counts as a gauge to the effectiveness of the programme is an important criterion for evaluative research. Outcomes can include changes in attitudes and behaviours (Weiss, 1972). Dobash *et al.* (1995) suggest that evaluations should assess whether such changes are sustained over time in follow-up research (see also Burns *et al.*, 1991). What follows is a review of initially outcome evaluations that consider the effects of the intervention. The focus begins, in

¹⁷ See Pawson and Tilley (1997) for an alternative stance on traditional models of evaluation.

brief, on general offending behaviour programmes but progresses to an in-depth discussion of the evaluations of domestic violence programmes, both in the UK and US.

Evaluations have been carried out on prison-based programmes that teach cognitive skills, including *Reasoning and Rehabilitation*. The reconviction rates of adult male offenders' who attended these programmes between 1992 and 1996 were compared to a 'matched' group of offenders who did not participate on them. The study found that for those offenders who received 'treatment' their reconviction rates declined considerably (Friendship, Blud, Erikson and Travers, 2002). A similar study was carried out on offenders attending such programmes between 1996 and 1998. The researchers found no differences in the reconviction rates for the two groups of offenders (i.e. 'treatment' and comparison). The authors argued that the earlier evaluation by Friendship *et al.* (2002) might have shown positive results because at that time prisoners attended programmes voluntarily. Therefore, they may have been particularly motivated to change their behaviours (Falshaw *et al.*, 2003). Another evaluation of these programmes was carried out on adult and young offenders. Again, this study suggested there were no differences in the reconviction rates between the offenders who had received 'treatment' and for those who did not (i.e. those offenders in the 'matched' comparison groups) (Cann *et al.*, 2003).

Hollin *et al.* (2004) evaluated probation-based cognitive-behavioural programmes including *Reasoning and Rehabilitation* and *Think First*. A group of offenders who had been assigned to 'treatment' were drawn from 16 probation areas. This was the experimental group. Likewise, a 'matched' group of offenders, taken from eight probation areas, who were not assigned to 'treatment', comprised the comparison group. The study found no differences in the reconviction rate between the two groups. The authors suggest that the weaknesses in the design of their evaluation might account for this finding. The two groups of experimental and comparison were 'matched' on a number of key variables (e.g. age, gender, offence type) but offenders' suitability for the programme was not considered (see also Cann *et al.*, 2003). If this was controlled for Hollin *et al.* (2004) argue that it might have affected outcomes. Brody (1976) suggests it is difficult to be sure that the correct variables have been controlled.

Hollin *et al.* (2004) adopted a quasi-experimental design to evaluate the programmes because offenders were not randomly allocated to the two groups of experimental and comparison (see also Cann *et al.*, 2003; Falshaw *et al.*, 2003; Friendship *et al.*, 2002). In such a design, the 'control' group is often referred to as the comparison group. The groups are thought to be 'matched' on a number of variables (Weiss, 1972), but as suggested in Hollin *et al.*'s (2004) study, selection bias may occur because although the groups were perceived to be 'matched' in terms of age, gender and offence type, they were not 'matched' on suitability for the programme. The comparison group may not be entirely comparable to the 'treatment' group (Merrington and Stanley, 2004). Quasi-experimental designs are therefore limited in their capacity to control for possible variables that might affect outcomes (Weiss, 1972).

Roberts (2004) notes that the conclusions drawn from his study are tentative because he did not use a 'matched' comparison *or* control group to compare the results obtained from the 'treatment' group. His research design does not allow for an understanding about the reconviction rates of offenders who do not receive 'treatment' (Harper and Chitty, 2005). Roberts (2004) undertook an evaluation of the probation-based *Think First* programme between 2000 and 2002. Findings suggest that for those offenders who completed the programme and were categorised as medium or high risk of re-offending, reconviction rates were significantly lower compared to offenders who had not completed the intervention (i.e. they dropped out). He suggests, albeit tentative given the design of his research, that completing *Think First* has a positive effect on these particular types of offenders (see also Hollin *et al.*, 2004).

Roberts (2004) suggests that other evaluations of offending behaviour programmes similarly suffer from methodological weaknesses to do with the use of suitable comparison and control groups, and the random allocation of subjects. He also mentions other methodological limitations relating to the size of samples and to the use of reconvictions as an outcome measure (see also Mair, 1991; Underdown, 1998). Mair (2004b) argues that Underdown's (1998) report contained doubtful 'evidence' about the effectiveness of programmes. Only four of the eleven programmes scrutinised showed

some positive outcomes. Even in these, some of the evaluations suffered from small sample sizes and the use of reconvictions as a sole measure of success of the programme (see Mair, 1991). Underdown (1998) also mentioned in his report the lack of follow-up research in evaluative studies, which militates against researchers finding out about the sustainability of any changes in offenders' attitudes and behaviours over time (Burns *et al.*, 1991; Dobash *et al.*, 1995).

The methodological weaknesses of evaluative studies carried out on general offending behaviour programmes questions the usefulness of such research in terms of finding out 'what works' in changing offending behaviours. This should prompt researchers to think about alternative ways to study the 'treatment' of offenders, particularly domestic violence perpetrators. This is important because the problems discussed above about the use of suitable comparison and control groups, random sampling, small sample sizes, lack of follow-up research, differences in outcome measures, as well as reliance on men's self-report (Bowen *et al.*, 2002; Burns *et al.*, 1991; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Edleson, 1996; Eisikovits and Edleson, 1989; Gondolf, 1997, 2004), police arrest and reconviction data (Bennett and Williams, 2001; Burns *et al.*, 1991; Tolman and Bennett, 1990) are also methodological weaknesses commented on in evaluations of domestic violence programmes. The following section initially considers these shortcomings in relation to the small number of studies undertaken in the UK on such programmes. The section progresses to consider some of the research carried out in the US to illustrate the complexity of 'what works' in domestic violence offending behaviour programmes.

2.2.2 Evaluative Research: Assessing 'What Works' in Domestic Violence Programmes

Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis (2000; see also 1995, 1996a, 1996b and Dobash, Cavanagh, Dobash and Lewis, 2000) carried out an outcome evaluation of two domestic violence programmes in Scotland. Using an experimental group (men who had attended one of the programmes) and comparison group (men who were given other sentences such as fines or 'straight' probation), they found that the domestic violence programmes

in their study were more than likely to have a positive impact on reducing men's violence. Subjects were not randomly allocated to the groups. Findings from the study then may be bias. It might be that offenders in the experimental group were required to attend a domestic violence programme because they were considered (e.g. by magistrates, judges and probation officers) as more suitable for such an intervention. These offenders may be more likely to change their abusive behaviours (Dobash *et al.*, 1995; see also Chen, Bersani, Myers and Denton, 1989).

Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis (2000; see also Brody, 1976) discuss the ethics and difficulties of using randomised designs when carrying out evaluative research within the criminal justice system. Firstly, they suggest that the judiciary may believe it is their right to choose an offender's sentence (as opposed to researchers' chance allocation of a sentence). Secondly, there are ethical concerns if researchers randomly allocate violent men to a control group where there is no 'treatment' in cases where violence is thought to be ongoing. For these reasons, few evaluations of domestic violence programmes incorporate randomised designs (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Research carried out in the US has adopted a randomised experimental design to evaluate a domestic violence programme (Taylor *et al.*, 2001). The authors of this research suggested that the intervention might reduce domestic violence behaviours. Yet the defendant, prosecutor and judge all had to consent to the 'treatment' *and* the domestic violence project had to accept the defendant, in order for the offender to be included in the sampling process. This procedure may have similarly attracted offenders who were motivated to take part in 'treatment' (Taylor *et al.*, 2001). As Dobash *et al.* (1995) suggest such offenders may be more likely to change their abusive behaviours.

British studies have generally suffered from small sample sizes (Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Claytor, 1996; Lee, 1999; Skyner and Waters, 1999; Steele, 2000) albeit Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis' (2000) evaluation included a larger sample. Whilst they carried out a follow-up post programme of subjects, their numbers had decreased throughout the study by about half (i.e. from 122 men and 142 women, to 60 men and 78 women) (Dobash *et al.*, 1995; see also Burton *et al.*, 1998). Burns *et al.* (1991) suggest that the subjects who take part in the follow-up stages of research may be the most stable and more likely to co-operate.

They may be more likely to show positive improvements in behaviours (see also Dobash *et al.*, 1995; Shupe, Stacey and Hazelwood, 1987). Gondolf (1997) suggests that offenders who drop out of programmes may be more likely to re-offend (see also Chen *et al.*, 1989; Shupe *et al.*, 1987). Failing to include these offenders in evaluative research may indicate that the intervention is successful when this might not be the case (Burns *et al.*, 1991; Dobash *et al.*, 1995). The attrition of subjects during the time of an evaluative study and the difficulties of contacting them after the programme (Edleson and Syers, 1990, 1991; Shupe *et al.*, 1987; see also Tolman and Bennett, 1990) militates against researchers carrying out research with lengthy periods of follow-up (Burns *et al.*, 1991).

Steele's (2000) unpublished research had included approximately a four-year follow-up for some of the men. The study relied on police incident and reconviction data to make claims about men's continued violent behaviours. The use of such data in this sense is problematic because of the private nature of domestic violence (Kershaw *et al.*, 2000) and the low number of domestic violent incidents and perpetrators that are reported to the police (Mirrlees-Black, 1999; see also Burns *et al.*, 1991; Dobash *et al.*, 1995).

Authors suggest more valid measures of men's abusive behaviours are reports from female partners and ex-partners of the men (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Mullender and Burton, 2000; Tolman and Bennett, 1990). Some studies in the UK have included them in evaluations (Dobash *et al.*, 1995) but in small numbers (Burton *et al.*, 1998; Lee, 1999; Skyner and Waters, 1999). Hame (2005) discusses the dangers of including partners or ex-partners of violent men in the same study. She suggests that since this may be a potential source of conflict (and risk of violence to the woman and her children) studies might seek to use female victims/survivors of domestic violence who are unconnected to violent men in research. This might explore their alternative stories of men's violence as well as non-abusive behaviours (e.g. after attending a programme) rather than using them to 'check' as to whether particular men are telling the 'truth'. Yet this leaves the researcher with few viable options for verifying men's stated reduced use or end of violence (see Mullender and Burton, 2000).

Evaluations of domestic violence programmes often use varying outcome measures to gauge the success of the intervention. Some studies consider the end of physical violence a success whereas other research assumes a reduction as indicative of an intervention that ‘works’ (Eisikovits and Edleson, 1989; Tolman and Bennett, 1990; Tolman and Edleson, 1995). These different definitions of what constitutes success, ensures that interventions are viewed inconsistently in terms of whether they ‘work’ (Edleson, 1996). Comparing findings then from evaluative research is very difficult (Bennett and Williams, 2001; Edleson, 1996).

Studies have also tried to measure wider aspects of domestic violence such as sexual and psychological abuse (see American reviews Burns *et al.*, 1991; Eisikovits and Edleson, 1989; Tolman and Edleson, 1995 and British studies Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Tolman and Bennett (1990) argue that this facilitates valid measures of whether violent men have altered their abusive behaviours. Defining sexual violence is problematic (Lees, 1997; Russell, 1982). Violent men may characterise such abuse in line with legal definitions for example the use of, or threat of using force, and verbal non-consensual sexual activity (i.e. when women say ‘no’) (see Russell, 1982; see also Hearn, 1998a and see for example Ballantyne, 2001). However, Russell (1982) found that women would engage in sexual activity when they did not want to in order to deflect their husband’s physical abuse. Research has suggested that men narrowly define other types of violence, such as physical (Hearn, 1996, 1998a) and psychological abuse (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Thus, measuring incidences of particular types of intimate violence is difficult (Mirrlees-Black, 1999).

Bowen and Gilchrist’s (2004a, 2004b; see also Bowen, Gilchrist and Beech, 2005) research illustrates further the complexity of evaluating programmes by the number of variables that might come into play when understanding the processes of how such interventions ‘work’. They argue that key ‘factors’ such as an offenders’ motivation to change and attend programmes should be considered in evaluations. They found that men who ‘self-referred’ to a domestic violence programme were more motivated than men who were court-ordered to attend such an intervention. Some authors suggest that

programmes need to court order men to attend in order to avoid high attrition rates (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). On the other hand, some writers have debated this suggesting that men, who are court-mandated also drop out of programmes (Burns *et al.*, 1991; Rosenfeld, 1992). Bowen and Gilchrist (2004b) argue that combining these two groups of men, court-mandated and 'self-referred', in one 'treatment' programme may not be conducive to effective programmes because of their different levels of motivation. Yet Burton *et al.* (1998) argue that men who attend programmes voluntarily may motivate other men in the group. Understanding *how* programmes 'work' appears complex and Bowen and Gilchrist (2004a, 2004b) argue that more research is needed, particularly using bigger samples and evaluations that consider the multi-faceted processes of programmes and their potential impact on outcomes (see also Gondolf, 2004; Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

Some of the research carried out in the US has attempted to understand the complexity of some of the processes involved in 'treatment' programmes. The following reviews some of these studies and in doing so it questions whether the goal should be to seek bigger samples in evaluative research. Instead, the next section illustrates how questions about 'what works' in offender 'treatment' are in radical need of change.

Research in the US has reported positive outcomes for offenders who *complete* domestic violence programmes in terms of reducing and ending men's violence (Edleson and Grusznski, 1988; Edleson and Syers, 1991; Grusznski and Carillo, 1988; Hamberger and Hastings, 1988; *my emphasis*). As suggested, domestic violence programmes have high drop out rates (Burns *et al.*, 1991). Many evaluations fail to include offenders who drop out (Dobash *et al.*, 1995; see also Babcock, Green and Robie, 2004). As mentioned also, failing to account for these offenders in evaluations may indicate that the intervention is more successful than it might be (Burns *et al.*, 1991; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; see for example Cann *et al.*, 2003; Hollin *et al.*, 2004; Roberts, 2004 and their evaluations of general offending behaviour programmes). Gondolf (1997, 2004) suggests that evaluations must account for offenders who drop out of programmes.

Some evaluations in the US have attempted to include offenders who drop out of programmes. However, they have relied on men's reports of violence (Grusznski and Carrillo, 1988) or they have used offenders who drop out as a comparison group. The problems with the latter are that these offenders are likely to have participated in some of the intervention (Edleson and Grusznski, 1988; see also Bowen *et al.*, 2005; Hamberger and Hastings, 1988). Edleson and Grusznski (1988) found that over half of the men who had attended some but not the entire domestic violence programme, were thought to have ended their violence at follow-up. Similarly, two-thirds of men who had completed the intervention were thought to have eliminated their abusive behaviours at follow-up. Understanding why the intervention 'worked' in terms of which components were successful at (reducing or) ending men's violent behaviours is problematic (see Edleson and Grusznski, 1988). Shupe *et al.* (1987) noted this in their multi-site evaluation of three different 'treatment' models for domestic violence offenders.

Edleson and Syers (1990, 1991) evaluated three different domestic violence programmes that varied in content and approach. They suggested that it was the educational programme, and the combined programme that mixed education and self-help techniques that 'worked' in ending men's violence. The educational programme used lectures, videos and role-plays. Group-discussions, which were usually about men's current situations, were kept short so that relevant programme material could be covered. Self-help groups were kept less structured. Here participants suggested most of the topics to be covered. Edleson and Syers' (1990, 1991) research did not include a control group to compare and substantiate their findings. Men were randomly assigned to the different perpetrator programmes but like other studies the sample decreased over time (see also Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash *et al.*, 1995).

The evaluations on perpetrator programmes reviewed so far have highlighted the difficulties of carrying out such research. This review has also discussed existing suggestions as to how these shortcomings might be overcome to provide studies that are

more useful. Whilst the optimum framework for evaluative research might be to include large numbers in samples, the use of control and experimental groups, and to carry out long-term follow-up research of offenders who complete *and* drop out of programmes, this still may not establish ‘what works’ in offending behaviour programmes. Despite the complexity involved in understanding the multi-faceted nature of ‘what works’ in changing offending behaviours, partly the crux of the matter is about *knowing* the extent of men’s violence in order to assess whether it has increased/decreased post-intervention. This idea forms the foundations for the next chapter. As mentioned at the beginning of the thesis there may be differences between a life that is lived and talk that is used to represent that life (Plummer, 1995; Strinati, 1992). As the next chapter suggests, this notion is much broader than simply suggesting that men are not telling the ‘truth’ when they talk about their violence. It is the representation of ‘truth’ about what actually happened that is problematic (Strinati, 1992). Hence, the difficulties in carrying out evaluative research that seeks to find this ‘truth’.

With this in mind, the next section continues to focus on the methodological shortcomings of evaluative research paying particular attention to what is perceived as the optimum framework for programmes: the application of cognitive behavioural therapies (CBT). It serves to highlight that such a framework might be adopted for political reasons, rather than because of the ‘evidence-based’ research that is thought to support it.

2.2.3 ‘What Works’: The Dominant Framework for Domestic Violence Programmes

The research drawn from the meta-analytic reviews suggests that programmes based on cognitive-behavioural techniques ‘work’ in reducing re-offending behaviours (Chapman and Hough, 1998; McGuire and Priestley, 1995, McGuire, 2000; Vennard *et al.*, 1997). It is thought that a ‘treatment’ model based on cognitive-behavioural principles can reduce the re-offending behaviours of offenders in general (Friendship *et al.*, 2002; see also McGuire and Priestley, 1995), and more specifically, young offenders (see Vennard *et al.*, 1997) and sex offenders (Friendship, Mann and Beech, 2003; Terry and Mitchell,

2001; see also Bilby and Brooks-Gordon, 2004; Hall, 1995; Marshall and Barbaree, 1990), particularly child abusers (see Marshall and Barbaree, 1990; Polaschek, Ward and Hudson, 1997).

Gondolf (1999) carried out a multi-site evaluation of four different domestic violence programmes. The interventions varied in length but all were premised on cognitive behavioural principles. His numbers might be considered as robust with 618 men and, partners and ex-partners taking part in his 30-month follow-up. He found that men who had attended a domestic violence programme for three months or more were more likely to reduce (possibly end) their violence than those men who had dropped out of an intervention. These findings were constant at 15-month, 30-month and 48-month follow-up periods across the four programmes (Gondolf, 2000a, 2001). Other research has suggested that domestic violence programmes based on cognitive-behavioural principles are more likely to reduce men's violent behaviours than other criminal justice sentences (Dobash *et al.*, 1996a). These findings were not supported by a meta-analytic review of the American research on evaluations of different types of domestic violence interventions that varied in approach (e.g. CBT, educational, counselling). The researchers in this later review argued that the methodological difficulties of carrying out evaluative research on domestic violence interventions ensured that seeking to establish the difference between two interventions is more complex than trying to find a 'treatment' effect and no 'treatment' effect (Babcock *et al.*, 2004).

Cognitive-behaviourism has become the dominant framework for 'treating' domestic violence offenders in the UK (Mullender and Burton, 2000; Scourfield and Dobash, 1999; see also Mair, 2004a). It rests on psychological tenets drawing particularly on social learning theory (Feldman, 1993; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). It assumes that criminal behaviour is the outcome of an individual's faulty thinking (Kendall, 2004). Scourfield and Dobash (1999) suggest that the emotions that precede violence (or offending behaviour in general) are brought on by an individual's way of thinking. Used in a 'treatment' programme, CBT focuses on changing an individual's thinking, which in turn is thought to effect emotions and ultimately behaviours. To facilitate this, Kendall (2004) suggests that there are two central strands to CBT. One is restructuring cognitions, which seeks to replace faulty thinking with alternative thoughts. The other is training in cognitive skills such as anger management.

Prior to the influx of accredited offending behaviour programmes, many probation areas delivered different types of offending behaviour programmes, mainly with a cognitive-behavioural focus (Hedderman and Sugg, 1997). Techniques shown under this approach have been categorised as problem-solving skills, self-instructional, self-management and social skills training (McGuire and Priestley, 1995; McGuire, 2000; Priestley, 1999). These methods have been incorporated in general offending behaviour programmes (see Home Office, 1999b; Priestley, 1999) as well as domestic violence programmes in the US and UK (see DeMaris and Jackson, 1987; Edleson and Grusznski, 1988; Gondolf, 1999; Grusznski and Carrillo, 1988; Hamberger and Hastings, 1988; Rosenbaum, 1986; Shupe *et al.*, 1987; see British studies Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Davies, O'Sullivan, Sharman and Wallace, 1996; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Lee, 1999; Steele, 2000; see also Home Office, 2004d; Morran and Wilson, 1997).

Vennard *et al.* (1997) argue that the number of techniques used in CBT and the difficulties in classifying them means that isolating the specific 'factors' that are integral to successful interventions is very difficult. Similarly, Eisikovits and Edleson (1989) suggest that despite most of the methods used in domestic violence programmes in the US being drawn from CBT, it is unclear how such techniques like 'self-talk' 'work' to end men's violence. 'Self-talk' is self-instructional training (see McGuire, 2000). Used with domestic violence offenders, it may prevent the build up of anger (and other negative emotions). This is because it involves individuals switching negative thoughts into positive ones (Ganley, 1981). Based on CBT, this may result in more positive emotions and subsequent behaviours (Scourfield and Dobash, 1999). Eisikovits and Edleson (1989) argue that evaluations of programmes need to focus on these specific aspects of the intervention to understand what it is that facilitates positive outcomes (see also Burns *et al.*, 1991; Pawson and Tilley, 1997). This is a difficult task given the number of interrelated 'factors' discussed above about the design and implementation of programmes that are thought to enhance their success (Vennard *et al.*, 1997).

Gondolf (2000b) sought to understand how men used what was shown in domestic violence programmes to stop their violence. To do this, he drew two samples from the men in his multi-site evaluation discussed above. One sample consisted of 443 men

who were asked questions about how they avoided violence, and the other sample comprised 120 men who were asked questions about attitudes to women. This latter sample was used to substantiate and expand upon the findings from the first sample of men. Findings from the research suggest that the cognitive-behavioural programmes evaluated were more likely to teach men how to avoid violent behaviours as opposed to instigating fundamental change in men's attitudes about women. Gondolf (2000b) argues that more men may have changed their thoughts about women but they may have difficulty in articulating these changes (see also Burton *et al.*, 1998). Alternatively, they may not wish to talk about them because it may suggest they are less macho (Gondolf, 2000b; see also Hearn, 1998a).

Similarly, in an earlier study Gondolf (1988:130) interviewed 51 men who had taken part in at least two or more sessions of a domestic violence programme (that was described as 'theme-centred'), and a comparison group of 54 men who had not participated in such an intervention to understand how men stop their abusive behaviours.¹⁸ Findings suggest that the men who had participated in the domestic violence programme were more likely to suggest using techniques learnt on the programme to end their violence compared to the men who had not taken part in the intervention. Gondolf (1988:142) argues that the techniques most commonly cited to stop abuse are 'self-talk' and 'time-outs'. The strategy of a 'time-out' suggests that men are to walk away from an abusive situation when they feel their anger increasing. It is thought to reduce the likelihood of physical violence (Ganley, 1981). Burton *et al.* (1998) argue that 'time-out' can be used as another tactic to control women. Used inappropriately, it might leave women in a state of fear anxiously awaiting the return of the perpetrator.

Gondolf (2000b:1218) calls 'time-outs' and 'self-talk' 'anger control techniques' or rather 'interruption methods'. Other studies carried out in the US and in the UK have found that men suggest these techniques are useful in reducing or ending their abuse (Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Davies *et al.*, 1996; DeMaris and Jackson, 1987; Dobash *et al.*, 1996a). Men in Gondolf's (1988) study

¹⁸ Themes that were addressed included denying violence, avoiding conflict, 'sex-role' stereotypes, attitudes about women, stress, 'low self-esteem' and 'self-awareness' (Gondolf, 1988:130).

relied primarily on the use of these strategies to (temporarily) stop their abuse as opposed to fundamentally changing themselves in terms of their attitudes (see also Ballantyne, 2001). Gondolf (1988:142) is therefore critical of the use of these 'anger control techniques' in successfully ending men's intimate violence against women (see also Gondolf, 2000b; Gondolf and Russell, 1986; Lee, 1999; Mullender, 1996a; Mullender, 1996b; NAPO, 1998; Scourfield and Dobash, 1999).

Gondolf (1988, 2000b) argues that anger management techniques may hinder men from developing other more worthwhile strategies that may be more successful at eliminating men's abusive behaviours (see also Gondolf and Russell, 1986). He suggests that since the domestic violence programmes in his multi-site evaluation also addressed gender related issues such as attitudes to women, then he would have expected to find some of these changes in the men (Gondolf, 2000b). For instance, Gondolf and Hanneken (1987) interviewed a small sample of 12 men who had attended the same domestic violence programme as those men in Gondolf's (1988) study (i.e. a programme that taught anger management methods and addressed gender related issues). These men were thought not to have been violent for ten months or more post their attendance on the programme. Findings from the study suggest that men talked about undergoing fundamental personal changes. This involved them accepting responsibility for their violence, developing empathy for other individuals, and readjusting their concepts of masculinity including gendered stereotypes. As a result, men reassessed their relationships with women, including their violent behaviours towards them (see also Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000).

The use of CBT has been criticised because of the lack of studies in the UK to support its application in general offending behaviour programmes (see Cann *et al.*, 2003; Falshaw *et al.*, 2003; see also Merrington and Stanley, 2000; Vennard *et al.*, 1997). Some authors argue that CBT suggests that the causes of offending are situated within individual pathology because it implies criminality as linked to faulty thinking (Kendall, 2002, 2004; Lancaster, 1995; see also Clarke, Simmonds and Wydall, 2004). It thus signifies a return to the individualised 'treatment' of (old) rehabilitation discussed in chapter one (Mair, 2004a). This is because such a model was also premised upon the aetiology of offending behaviours as pathological (Hudson, 1987). Kendall (2002, 2004) argues that CBT excludes any notions of fundamentally changing social and

economic structures within society to alter crime (see also Neary, 1992; Pitts, 1992; Vanstone, 1999; Vennard *et al.*, 1997). Festinger (1964) argues that changing environmental 'factors' is important to support and sustain any previously altered attitudes at an individual level (e.g. those changed by CBT) (see also Bandura, 1970).

New Labour espoused a political agenda that sought to be 'tough on the causes of crime' (Worrall and Hoy, 2005:63). To be publicly and politically seen as tough on offenders as the previous government, new Labour did not focus on social-structural and environmental 'factors', such as poverty to understand the problem of crime, like old Labour. Instead, new Labour's rhetoric echoes somewhat that of the previous Conservative government's about individuals' own responsibility for offending behaviours (Driver and Martell, 2002; Whitehead and Statham, 2006; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). Spencer and Deakin (2004) argue that the Labour government's policies related to the 'what works' agenda and the effective practice initiative are premised upon the belief that meta-analysis is reliable in its prediction that cognitive-behavioural programmes can reduce re-offending (see above). These authors suggest that with reduced reconviction rates the government anticipates a reduced prison population. Spencer and Deakin (2004) argue that in this sense, the 'what works' agenda and its related policies and practices aimed to reduce expenditure on the prison and to use less expensive ways of managing offenders particularly in the community. As part of non-custodial penalties, the use of CBT in all perpetrator programmes offers a cheaper option to address the problem of different types of criminal behaviours than prison (see Vass, 1990; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992; Pitts, 1992).

Mair (2004a) suggests that most accredited programmes are cognitive-behavioural in focus. He suggests that such an approach facilitates the accreditation of an intervention (Mair, 2000a). Accredited programmes, which are largely underpinned by CBT, have been implemented within the NPS despite the lack of conclusive research to support their use (Merrington and Stanley, 2000). As this chapter indicates, by evaluating offending behaviour programmes and the use of CBT, it is thought that such interventions can be assessed and outcomes noted (see Chapman and Hough, 1998; Underdown, 1998; see also Worrall and Hoy, 2005). In response to public and political demands, Merrington and Stanley (2000) suggest programmes were implemented in the probation service because of their potential to 'show' (via evaluations) reductions in re-

offending behaviours (see also Garland, 1997, 2001; Neary, 1992; Pitts, 1992; Robinson and McNeill, 2004). In doing this, an image is presented of a credible probation service that protects the public (Robinson and McNeill, 2004) albeit without the 'evidence' to support this (Merrington and Stanley, 2000). In this sense, authors suggest that 'what works' and the implementation of accredited programmes have been instrumental in the survival of the probation service (Mair, 2004b; Oldfield, 2002).

Garland (2001:26) sums up this argument:

Crime control strategies and criminological ideas are not adopted because they are known to solve problems. The evidence runs out well before their effects can be known with any certainty. They are adopted and they succeed because they characterise problems and solutions in ways that fit with the dominant culture and the power structure upon which it rests.¹⁹

This dominant culture at present is 'what works' and the rhetoric espoused is the discourse of risk that suggests assessing (i.e. 'the risk principle'), managing and reducing re-offending behaviours (e.g. by targeting criminogenic needs and dynamic risk 'factors'), in order to protect the public (Chapman and Hough, 1998:6; Home Office, 2002a; McGuire, 2000; NPS, 2001; see also Kemshall, 1998, 2000). This dominant rhetoric means that any alternative way of working with offenders is often not mentioned or is sidelined (Burton and Carlen, 1979; Oldfield, 2002; see for example Kendall, 2002, 2004; Neary, 1992; Vanstone, 1999; Vennard *et al.*, 1997). The following section briefly highlights some other ways of addressing the problem of domestic violence. What follows is in no way an exhaustive list of alternative strategies.

2.3 Alternative Approaches to Addressing Domestic Violence

Other ways of tackling the problem of domestic violence might include social crime prevention techniques (see Bright, 1991) and restorative justice (see Braithwaite, 2002). Restorative justice, according to Hudson (1998), is not based on retribution in that the sentence is commensurate with the seriousness of the offence or on the incapacitation of offenders (see chapter one), but on resolving conflicts between victims, offenders and

¹⁹ Whilst it is not entirely clear what Garland (2001:26) meant when he said that 'crime control strategies and criminological ideas [...] succeed [...]', I have taken this to imply that they 'succeed' in terms of longevity.

communities. Like offending behaviour programmes, restorative justice would address the problem of domestic violence after it has been perpetrated (see Braithwaite and Daly, 1994), whereas social crime prevention initiatives focus on people and communities before crime is committed. Social crime prevention strategies attempt to influence those 'factors' that are thought to be associated with offending. Social policies relating to family, education and young people might be targeted at those groups thought to be most at risk of committing crime (Bright, 1991; see for example Currie, 1996; Morgan and Carlen, 1999). In terms of domestic violence, policies and practices might be directed at challenging patriarchal gender relations in these broader contexts (Radford and Stanko, 1991).

2.3.1 National Campaigns

The *Safety and Justice* paper proposed to stop domestic violence before it happened. It outlined a number of strategies. One of these was raising public awareness about such abuse in terms of its prevalence and nature, through national campaigns (Home Office, 2003b; see also Hester and Westmarland, 2005). The BBC's *Hitting Home* season was broadcast in 2003 on television and radio programmes to inform the public about domestic violence (Home Office, 2003b). In a similar vein, over a decade earlier, a *Zero Tolerance* campaign that began in Edinburgh and spread throughout Scotland and beyond was run by local authorities to send out the message that domestic violence is unacceptable. In this way, the campaign aimed to alter attitudes at both an individual and societal level towards such crime so that society ultimately supported strategies to reduce it. The campaign was thought to have reached a wide audience (Scottish Office, 1997).

The *Zero Tolerance Charitable Trust* has run similar campaigns throughout the 1990s in Scotland. One of these was 'Respect', which particularly sought to promote relationships based on equality. Part of this initiative targeted the views of young people in some primary and secondary schools, and other youth work contexts about domestic violence relationships (The Zero Tolerance Charitable Trust, 2006). The Scottish Executive evaluated this project and suggested that whilst it had made some positive impact in altering attitudes about equal relationships, many young people, particularly men, still accepted and fostered views about power and discrimination in intimate relationships. The report recommended that such crime prevention work

should continue on a national basis in addressing the problem of domestic violence (Scottish Executive, 2006).

2.3.2 Education in Schools

The *Safety and Justice* paper suggests targeting specific measures at young people via their education. These strategies include an information pack for teachers in schools. The pack seeks to develop discussion around issues related to gender such as domestic violence and considers the role of schools in resolving conflicts. The pack advances best practice guidelines relating to such work (Home Office, 2003b).

The *Safety and Justice* paper also suggests that Personal, Social and Health Education, as part of the school curriculum, can teach social skills such as managing anger and negotiating in relationships (Home Office, 2003b). Hester and Westmarland (2005) indicate that there is nothing particularly focused on violence against women within the themes of the curriculum (although the authors recognise that this is changing exemplified by the proposals in the *Safety and Justice* paper). They discuss the evaluation of five different projects within schools that sought to educate young people about domestic violence and healthy relationships. The projects were part of the government's Crime Reduction Programme (see above). The authors suggested that in the short term such work carried out in schools could make 'pupils think more deeply about domestic violence' (Hester and Westmarland, 2005:25). The long-term impact of such projects depended upon how far they were integrated and sustained within the wider school curriculum over time. The authors suggest this is necessary in order to challenge deep-seated attitudes relating to violence against women in intimate relationships (Hester and Westmarland, 2005).

The *Safety and Justice* paper considers that skills about managing anger and negotiation might reduce incidences of domestic violence (Home Office, 2003b). As mentioned above, Gondolf is critical of the use of anger management work with domestic violence offenders (1988, 2000b; see also Gondolf and Russell, 1986). Pence and Paymar (1993) are cautious about the use of negotiation in domestic violence relationships. They suggest that this is because this skill usually involves two people reaching a decision that is satisfactory to both parties. In domestic violence relationships, men often believe that most decisions are theirs to make. Fair negotiating can therefore be very difficult.

Besides, Dobash and Dobash (1979) and Mullender (1996a) suggest women regularly comprise their behaviours to reduce the potential for violence (see also Stanko, 1990). Like 'time-out' (see Burton *et al.*, 1998), the skill of negotiation might also be used as another tactic to control women. To avoid this, it is thought that men must first give-up positions of power and privilege before learning such skills (Pence and Paymar, 1993).

2.3.3 Restorative Justice

In relation to restorative justice and responding to the problem of domestic violence after it has been perpetrated, such an approach is problematic. Hudson (1998:242) argues that problems arise when offenders are unwilling to resolve conflicts, and where the views of offenders and victims are so different that they are 'non-negotiable'. These problems, she argues, are particularly acute in crimes against women and children, such as domestic violence. Restorative justice may be unsuitable for resolving conflicts between victim and offender in the context of a domestic violence relationship that is often characterised by 'imbalances of power' where men control women (Braithwaite and Daly, 1994:194; Hudson, 1998:248). In such relationships women are often fearful of their partners and ex-partners (Braithwaite, 2002; Burton *et al.*, 1998), and as mentioned, they may already compromise their behaviours to reduce violence (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Mullender, 1996a; Stanko, 1990). Restorative justice may be considered as facilitating, possibly aggravating the collusive nature of domestic violence relationships (Braithwaite, 2002; Braithwaite and Daly, 1994; Hudson, 1998). Therefore, such an approach to work with domestic violence offenders may be deemed inappropriate (Braithwaite, 2002).

Notwithstanding these critiques, Braithwaite and Daly (1994) suggest that such an approach might be able to tackle domestic violence. They argue that problems with the criminal justice system mean that most intimately violent men do not come to the attention of the authorities (see also Mirrlees-Black, 1999). Moreover, 'the criminal process silences the victim' (Braithwaite and Daly, 1994:191; see also Hudson, 1998). Braithwaite and Daly (1994) advocate a restorative justice approach based on the strategy of community conferences. Here, conferences are provided as an alternative route to a criminal conviction (although the criminal process is still an option) with the aim of reintegrating the offender and victim. Braithwaite and Daly (1994) argue that in this approach to restorative justice more men will be made accountable for their

violence and the victim's perspective can be 'equally' represented alongside the offenders (see also Hudson, 1998).

Restorative justice might be deemed as more appropriate to use with other types of offenders, such as young offenders, but with domestic violence perpetrators it is controversial and highly critiqued (see Braithwaite, 2002; Braithwaite and Daly, 1994; Hudson, 1998). Moreover, until recently social crime prevention techniques had been given less attention primarily because of the difficulties and expense involved in their implementation and evaluation (Bright, 1991) (e.g. such research often entails long follow-up periods, see Graham, 1989). Bright (1991) argues that more investment had been made into criminal justice agencies. The *Safety and Justice* paper indicates that funding continues into offending behaviour programmes within the NPS, particularly to monitor their effectiveness (Home Office, 2003b).

2.3.4 Feminist Tenets

It is thought that the most effective framework for offending behaviour programmes is CBT (Mair, 2000a). Prior to accredited programmes, many domestic violence programmes used CBT influenced by feminist principles (Mullender and Burton, 2000; Scourfield and Dobash, 1999). The following explains this. Feminist tenets view male violence against women in intimate relationships as part of a wider social context where men dominate women. This social order of patriarchy affords men privileges. It creates unequal relationships between men and women throughout society and within intimate relationships (Radford, 1987; Radford and Stanko, 1991). Feminist tenets are premised upon socio-cultural theories (Mullender, 1996a, 1996b). Domestic violence is not thought to be the outcome of men's violent tempers or women provoking men to act abusively (Morran and Wilson, 1997; RESPECT, 2000, 2004). Nor is it seen to stem from problems in men's past such as early childhood experiences (hence the lack of attention to psychodynamic approaches that seek to uncover and resolve these issues) (see Mullender, 1996b; Scourfield and Dobash, 1999).²⁰ Rather, some feminists argue that domestic violence is chosen by men to control women in intimate relationships.

²⁰ Intimately violent men are often referred to agencies that provide counselling based on such an approach to resolve these personal problems (Mullender, 1996b; Scourfield and Dobash, 1999).

Men are therefore considered to be responsible for their behaviour (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; see also RESPECT, 2000, 2004).

Mullender (1996a:232, 1996b:33) argues that integrating and targeting these beliefs in an intervention prioritises 'feminist concerns'. When they are applied within a 'treatment' programme, Scourfield and Dobash (1999) suggest that a pro-feminist approach to working with men should re-educate men about men's and women's roles and identities, and address the tactics that men deliberately use to gain positions of power over women in intimate relationships. Pence and Paymar (1993) outline a number of these tactics that men use to gain control over female partners and ex-partners. These include isolating and intimidating the woman, and blaming her for the violence.

Scourfield and Dobash (1999) argue that when combined, the framework of CBT and feminist tenets in a domestic violence programme attempts to address men's perceived right to dominate women (see also Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Mullender and Burton 2000; Pence and Shepard, 1988). Morran (1995) suggests that this includes challenging men's excuses for their violent behaviours. The programme may do this by drawing on the cognitive restructuring element of CBT that seeks to replace faulty thinking with alternative more appropriate thoughts (see Kendall, 2004). For example, men might excuse their violence by saying that they were angry and out of control (Morran, 1995). Scourfield and Dobash (1999:137) suggest that the application of feminist tenets re-educates men that when they are hitting their partner (or ex-partner) they are not 'out of control'. Men are in control, purposefully choosing to use violence to dominate women (see also Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Morran, 1995).

There are differences in the two approaches of CBT and feminist principles, since the former teaches skills for managing anger whereas the latter suggests it is not anger that facilitates violence (Pence and Shepard, 1988). Yet authors consider their application in a domestic violence programme appropriate to address men's violent behaviours (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Mullender, 1996b; Pence and Shepard, 1988; Scourfield and Dobash, 1999). It is thought that such a combined model of CBT and feminist principles is appropriate for 'treating' domestic violence perpetrators. This

is despite limited research to support its use (Mullender and Burton, 2000) and regardless of ‘treating’ what is considered a social-cultural problem with an individualised ‘treatment’ programme that does not address the deeper social structures embedded in patriarchal society (see Radford and Stanko, 1991).

These other ways of addressing the problem of domestic violence serve as potential alternative strategies of how to ‘treat’ offenders (or those individuals at risk of offending) that may challenge current modes of intervention (e.g. perpetrator programmes). The next section highlights this further in relation to feminist tenets and their use in domestic violence perpetrator programmes. It begins by discussing the development of such programmes in the UK and progresses to consider how these interventions are located within the effective practice initiative in the NPS, discussed in chapter one. I then detail the intervention that was involved in my study.

2.4 The Development of Domestic Violence Programmes in the United Kingdom

The DVP, which was the focus of my research, was not an accredited programme. As mentioned, a domestic violence programme (the IDAP) was later accredited in 2004 (Correctional Services, 2004). At the time of writing, probation areas were in the process of implementing this programme or planning the implementation of the alternative *Community Domestic Violence Programme* (Home Office, 2003a). The latter intervention was being developed further for accreditation (Correctional Services, 2004). During the 1980s and 1990s before programmes became part of the Home Office’s Crime Reduction Programme, practitioners facilitated the development of local domestic violence programmes within the statutory and voluntary sectors (Dixon 2000; Eadie and Knight, 2002) (this was the case with the DVP in my study, see below). Mullender (1996a) outlines 15 organisations in England that provided projects for violent men. Thirteen of these were in the voluntary sector. In 1994, Scourfield and Dobash (1999) carried out a telephone survey with 23 organisations in the UK who provided programmes for violent men. Sixteen (70 per cent) of these agencies were based within the voluntary sector.

In 1992, an informal network of practitioners working within the area of domestic violence formed the *National Practitioners Network* (NPN). The Network later set up RESPECT, which is a national non-government organisation (NGO) for domestic

violence programmes and associated support services (e.g. women's support) situated within both statutory and voluntary sectors (RESPECT, 2005). RESPECT (2000; see also RESPECT, 2004 for a revised version) has produced minimum standards of practice for perpetrator programmes and support services. These are thought to be based on research and practice. All members of RESPECT agree to adhere to them in their work with perpetrators and victims/survivors of domestic violence. The standards discuss optimal settings for work with perpetrators, such as group-work and the duration of 'treatment'. Both documents subscribe to the notion that men can change and learn how to be non-violent to women in intimate relationships *and* that risks presented by violent men are assessed, managed, and reduced so that victims are protected (RESPECT, 2000, 2004). RESPECT's standards of practice then contain discourses of rehabilitation and risk, respectively. These documents comprise unofficial 'what works' principles and discourses of 'treating' male perpetrators of domestic violence. They are not publications of the state (see Burton and Carlen, 1979). In terms of domestic violence perpetrator programmes, the revised standards state that such interventions cannot cure intimately violent men in terms of ending completely all their violent and abusive behaviours towards women in intimate relationships, although they can sometimes reduce them (RESPECT, 2004).

The NPN carried out a survey of programmes for domestic violence perpetrators in the UK. Of the 26 questionnaires that were returned, 18 provided group-work for these offenders. Most projects described their interventions as using broadly a cognitive-behavioural approach influenced by feminist tenets (Humphreys, Hester, Hague, Mullender, Abrahams and Lowe, 2000). In Scourfield and Dobash's (1999) research, 57 per cent (13) of the agencies that ran male perpetrator programmes were said to combine CBT and feminist tenets. Where organisations deem to be using such models they are, as Scourfield and Dobash (1999:136) suggest, labels that are 'self-imposed'. It is unclear what specific techniques organisations use when they imply that programmes are premised upon CBT (see also Vennard *et al.*, 1997).

RESPECT (2000, 2004) subscribes to feminist tenets and the notion that men use violence to gain control over female partners and ex-partners (see also Dobash, 1979, 1984). Eadie and Knight (2002) argue that within the probation service support for such a way of 'treating' men has not been clear (see also Ballantyne, 2001; Scourfield, 1998).

Whilst the recently developed IDAP describes its theoretical approach as encompassing CBT (and thus teaching violent men the use of specific techniques such as ‘time-outs’ and ‘self-talk’), it does not mention feminist tenets as *explicitly* informing its model of change. It appears that feminist principles are to be applied. For example an outline of themes and an overview of programme sessions suggests that there is *some* emphasis in the IDAP on men’s use of violence as instrumental in gaining control over intimate partners (and ex-partners) (see Home Office, 2004d). Given that the model of change is premised upon social learning theory and CBT these may reign over feminist tenets running throughout some of the programme. Observing sessions facilitates an understanding of how the manual will be translated in practice by programme workers (Ballantyne, 2001).

Eadie and Knight (2002; see also Hearn, 1998a) argue that domestic violence programmes increasingly became part of statutory provision, particularly within the probation service. This move may have facilitated the seemingly less explicit use of feminist thinking in domestic violence programmes. As Eadie and Knight (2002) suggest these interventions became part of the probation service’s remit because of ‘what works’ and the effective practice initiative. The dominant rhetoric of this, and the practices, which it fostered (e.g. assessing, managing and reducing risks of re-offending) may have further pushed out support for feminist thinking (about changing men’s attitudes to women in intimate relationships to ultimately end violence, see above). As part of this initiative and ‘evidence-based’ practice, probation services were being asked to review their existing local programmes against ‘what works’ ‘factors’ (Home Office, 1995).

It would be some time before the implementation of an accredited domestic violence programme (see Correctional Services, 2004; see also Home Office, 2000a, 2003a). An official inspection in 2004 of the work undertaken with domestic violence offenders by the NPS was carried out. The report suggested that in the seven probation areas inspected there was an inconsistent approach to ‘treating’ domestic violence perpetrators between and within areas. Most of the areas did not have an up-to-date specific policy. Only one area (in connection with a NGO) delivered a domestic violence perpetrator programme (albeit unaccredited). The remaining areas had disbanded their domestic violence programmes. The report concluded that it might be

that little attention had been given to the ‘treatment’ of such offenders pending the implementation of accredited domestic violence programmes and a new (recommended) national policy about ‘treating’ domestic violence offenders (Home Office, 2004a). The following discusses the probation area where I carried out my research particularly the domestic violence programme that it had retained.

The probation area in my research had continued to run its domestic violence programme in partnership with a local NGO. The probation area provided the route for court-ordered men to attend the programme, whereas the NGO was where ‘self-referred’ men contacted to obtain a place on the intervention. The programme had provision for up to twelve men. This comprised usually of eight court-mandated men and four ‘self-referred’ men. In line with the dominant rhetoric at the time, the DVP was underpinned by CBT (see Mair, 2000a, 2004a). It also incorporated feminist tenets (see Mullender and Burton, 2000; Scourfield and Dobash, 1999). Heeding further the advice from the dominant rhetoric of ‘what works’, the probation area had begun to integrate the case manager within the programme in terms of introducing pre-programme work (see Home Office, 1999b; see also chapter one). It was anticipated that case managers would carry out such work with offenders prior to their attendance on the programme. This is despite the non-accredited status of the DVP in my study and similarly the unaccredited nature of the pre-programme work.

The DVP in my study and the recently accredited IDAP diverge from other accredited offending behaviour programmes. This is because these latter interventions seek to reduce re-offending (NPS, 2001), whereas the DVP in my study, as stated in the programme manual, aimed to end men’s violent behaviours (see also Home Office, 2004d about the IDAP). The DVP incorporated twenty-one core sessions and six monthly relapse prevention sessions. Like other offending behaviour programmes, including other domestic violence interventions, it taught self-instructional and self-management training; what Gondolf (1988:142) calls ‘anger control techniques’ (e.g. ‘self-talk’, ‘time-outs’). Other sessions covered victim’s views, denying violence and accepting responsibility (including blame) as well as issues around power and control in intimate relationships. Similar to the educational programme evaluated in Edleson and Syers’ (1990, 1991) research, the DVP in my study incorporated the use of videos and role-plays in group-work (see also Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and

Lewis, 2000). Discussions about men's current situations, such as their intimate relationships, were kept brief so that relevant programme material could be covered (see also Edleson and Syers, 1990, 1991). A discourse of rehabilitation was running throughout the DVP because it ultimately sought to change offenders' attitudes about women in intimate relationships to end men's violence (see also Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature about 'what works' in the 'treatment' of offenders, with particular reference to domestic violence perpetrators within the NPS. The review of perpetrator programmes began by discussing 'what works'. Authors had concluded from the meta-analytic research that structured and offence-focused work that incorporated 'what works' guidelines, such as CBT, were thought likely to reduce re-offending behaviours (Losel, 1995; McGuire and Priestley, 1995; McIvor, 1997; Vennard *et al.*, 1997).

The implementation of 'what works' symbolised a credible probation service that was seen to be carrying out positive work with offenders to reduce re-offending (Spencer and Deakin, 2004). The newly elected Labour government continued the quest for 'evidence-based' practice in the probation service (Mair, 2004b). A panel was formed to accredit offending behaviour programmes thought to 'work' in reducing re-offending (Hollin *et al.*, 2002a, 2002b; Rex *et al.*, 2003). Programmes such as *Reasoning and Rehabilitation* and *Think First* were accredited (NPS, 2001, Rex *et al.*, 2003). The research reviewed on evaluations of such programmes suggested that the capability of them to reduce re-offending behaviours was inconclusive (Cann *et al.*, 2003; Falshaw *et al.*, 2003; Hollin *et al.*, 2004; Roberts, 2004).

The review of offending behaviour programmes highlighted the difficulties of carrying out a methodologically rigorous evaluation of such interventions. Some of the studies were thought to be limited because they did not use suitable control (or comparison) groups (see Hollin *et al.*, 2004, Roberts, 2004) nor did they randomly allocate subjects to groups (Roberts, 2004). Similar weaknesses in the methodological designs of evaluations of domestic violence programmes were noted (see also Mullender and Burton, 2000). These included lack of control and comparison groups; small samples;

lack of follow-up research post intervention; differences in outcome measures; reliance on men's self-report (Bowen *et al.*, 2002; Burns *et al.*, 1991; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Edleson, 1996; Eisikovits and Edleson, 1989; Gondolf, 1997, 2004); police arrest and reconviction data as measures of success of the intervention (Bennett and Williams, 2001; Burns *et al.*, 1991; Tolman and Bennett, 1990). The knowledge gained from research on evaluations of domestic violence programmes is thought to be uncertain because the studies fail to control for all potential variables that might affect the outcome of the intervention (see Weiss, 1972). Despite authors arguing for more rigorously designed evaluations (Bowen and Gilchrist, 2004a, 2004b; Roberts, 2004) the multi-factorial nature of 'what works' in reducing re-offending (see McGuire and Priestley, 1995; McGuire, 2000) ensure that designing and carrying out an evaluation to control for such 'factors' is very difficult indeed (Mullender and Burton, 2000).

Notwithstanding the limitations of evaluative research carried out on domestic violence programmes and the uncertainty about 'what works' in such interventions, the IDAP attained full accreditation status in 2004 (Correctional Services, 2004). This chapter also noted criticisms about the apparent usefulness of CBT in offending behaviour programmes because of the lack of supporting research (Cann *et al.*, 2003; Falshaw *et al.*, 2003). Yet, the dominant rhetoric appears to be of the usefulness of CBT and its application in offending behaviour programmes (Mair, 2000a, 2004a). This may sideline and suppress other ways of addressing the problem of domestic violence, like social crime prevention (see Home Office, 2003b). The 'what works' agenda and its related policies and practices have been viewed as political moves to reduce spending in prisons and to use less expensive and seemingly positive ways of managing offenders particularly in the community (Spencer and Deakin, 2004). Cognitive behavioural programmes were hastily implemented because of the increasing political and public demands on the probation service to present a credible organisation that reduced re-offending (Merrington and Stanley, 2000). The chapter ended by discussing the DVP that formed the focus of my study and how this, and other domestic violence interventions, was premised upon CBT as well as feminist principles.

It is thought then that previous studies identified some key guidelines about 'what works' in (domestic violence) programmes such as the importance of targeting

criminogenic needs in the 'treatment' of (domestic violence) offenders. Yet bigger samples and rigorous evaluations may not provide the specific answers about 'what works' that the authors and those who fund research (including the government) are asking. This led me to consider whether the questions about 'what works' in 'treating' offenders, particularly domestic violence perpetrators, are appropriate questions to ask, in terms of whether they could be answered. Rather than looking for definitive answers to such questions, perhaps an alternative view might be to consider how violent men and the practitioners use and make sense of the programmes and the language used therein. In short, this is about understanding their use of discourse about how to 'treat' male intimately violent offenders. The next chapter discusses this theoretical and analytical approach of discourse analysis in more detail, focusing initially on the complexity and inconsistency of men's accounts about their violent behaviours. Discourse analysis does not seek to understand 'what works' in offender 'treatment'. This analytical approach makes sense of men's contradictory narratives (see Gill, 2000). It may be a more beneficial approach to the study of the 'treatment' of domestic violence offenders because it highlights how it may be that questions about 'what works' are so difficult to answer.

This chapter has therefore illustrated the uncertainty about 'what works' in general offending behaviour programmes and domestic violence programmes in the UK, as well as highlighting further the disjuncture noted in chapter one about the purpose of 'treating' offenders. On the one hand, the review suggested that general offending behaviour programmes were to reduce re-offending (NPS, 2001) whereas domestic violence programmes were considered sometimes able to end men's violence (Home Office, 2004d). These aims were married to the two discourses of risk and rehabilitation, respectively. The former discourse is about dealing with offenders by assessing, managing and reducing risk, whereas the latter discourse is about working with offenders to change attitudes and behaviours to end crime. As suggested in chapter one, the use of these discourses in the three institutional domains of the assessment, case management and programme formed the foundations of my research. The next chapter, by focusing on men's narratives of violence, provides a fourth site in which to understand the use of discourse: in men's talk. The following chapter discusses the conceptual framework that guided my study.

CHAPTER THREE

TALKING ABOUT INTIMATE VIOLENCE: ACCOUNTS, THEORIES AND DISCOURSES

3.1 Introduction

The dual-purpose of this chapter is to understand the techniques intimately violent men use when they talk about their abusive behaviours and to discuss the ‘factors’ thought to be important in understanding domestic violence offending. This facilitates an understanding about the fourth site of talk in my study: men’s talk. The chapter begins by reviewing the research on how individuals talk about their criminal behaviours to illustrate the techniques they use when they narrate. It shows how intimately violent men excuse and justify their abuse. These concepts of excusing and justifying violent behaviours are drawn from Hearn’s research (1998a). I also draw on Scott and Lyman’s (1968:46) argument that accounts like these are ‘socially approved vocabularies’. This links the discussion into the area of discourses. Here the work of Foucault (1981, 1989) is important. In this part of the chapter, I draw a distinction between the literature on how individuals present a positive image of a knowing and knowable ‘self’, for the good of others and themselves (see Goffman, 1968, 1971; Sykes and Matza, 1957), and the concept of a ‘self’ that is unknowable, unfixed and contradictory (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999). It is the latter notion of an unknowable ‘self’ that underpinned the conceptual framework of my study.

The remaining part of this chapter considers the academic theories about why men commit intimate violence. The empirical studies, from which such theories derive, are reviewed in order to identify the various ‘factors’ thought to be linked to domestic violence offending. The chapter highlights ‘factors’ such as alcohol, loss of control, depression, anger, cycle of violence (violence as learned), misogynistic attitudes, sexual jealousy, and power and control. The implications of connecting these ‘factors’ to intimate violence are considered in relation to ‘treatment’ programmes. Here, the literature on the criminogenic needs and dynamic risk ‘factors’ of such perpetrators is detailed, and the rhetoric of the ‘what works’ agenda (about how to target and alter these ‘factors’) is touched upon (see chapter two).

This chapter illustrates similarities between the way offenders talk about their intimate violence, the theories about why such abuse happens, the literature on offenders' 'risks' and 'needs', and the discourses of risk and rehabilitation as ways to deal and work with intimately violent offenders, respectively.

3.2 Accounts of Violence: Men's Explanations

Previous research has considered individuals' accounts of their criminal behaviours (Sykes and Matza, 1957; see also Scott and Lyman, 1968). The narratives of offenders who commit burglary (Wright and Decker, 1994), 'white-collar' crime (Benson, 2004; Jesilow, Pontell and Geiss, 2004), organised 'professional' crime (Hobbs, 1994), homicide (Ray and Simons, 2004), sexual violence (Bourgois, 1996; Hale, 2004; Teague, 1993) and intimate violence (Cavanagh, Dobash, Dobash and Lewis, 2001; Hearn, 1998a; Ptacek, 1988; see also Thurston and Beynon, 1995). Some of this research has considered offenders' motivations for the crimes that they commit (Hale, 2004; Wright and Decker, 1994), whereas other studies have sought to understand how men construct masculinities in their talk and through their criminal behaviours (Bourgois, 1996; Hearn, 1998a; Hobbs, 1994; Teague, 1993; Thurston and Beynon, 1995).

Hearn's (1998a) research (which also considered masculinities), sought to understand the ways in which intimately violent men reconstructed abusive behaviours in their talk. When men come to the attention of the criminal justice system because of their violent behaviours, they are often required to talk about their crimes. This includes making statements to the police, solicitors, magistrates or judges, and probation officers. When (and if) violent men encounter the probation service, they are initially assessed via a Pre-Sentence Report (PSR). This usually involves the offender talking about his violent behaviours in an interview with a probation officer (see chapter one). The offender is asked to detail the nature of his offences, the reasons why he thinks he committed them, and the circumstances surrounding his criminal behaviours (see Home Office, 2002a).

Hearn (1998a) interviewed 60 violent men drawn from a number of different agencies such as the police, probation and prison services. He noted that when most men talk about domestic violence their texts illustrate a number of techniques. Some of these include confessions that accept blame *and* responsibility for violence; excuses that deny

responsibility but accept blame, and justifications that conversely deny blame and accept responsibility (see also Ptacek, 1988; Ray and Simons, 2004; Scott and Lyman, 1968). Hearn (1998a) suggests that excuses and justifications are similar because by using them, men view violence as emanating from ‘factors’ outside of their control. Excuses often include placing responsibility for the violence onto psychiatric problems within the man himself, something in the man’s past like watching and experiencing violence as a child, and/or onto the use of alcohol or drugs (see also Cavanagh *et al.*, 2001; Thurston and Beynon, 1995). Using excuses accepts blame for violence because men acknowledge using violence but the responsibility is placed elsewhere (e.g. onto alcohol). Conversely, the use of justifications accepts responsibility for committing abusive behaviours, which are usually thought of as carried out for some reason. Justifications place blame for the violence with the female victim/survivor of the abuse, for something she may not have done (such as the housework) or something she did do (for instance provoke an argument) (Hearn, 1998a; see also Burton *et al.*, 1998; Cavanagh *et al.*, 2001).

3.2.1 Conceptualising Excuses and Justifications

McLaughlin (1996) suggests that these explanations about violent behaviours are transforming techniques that make violence seem acceptable (see also Scott and Lyman, 1968). The literature suggests that individuals use techniques such as excuses and justifications (Scott and Lyman, 1968), and ‘fronts’ including verbal and non-verbalised ‘performances’ to control information in order to present a positive image of the ‘self’ to others (Goffman, 1968, 1971:32, 1972). This is especially so when unacceptable behaviours have spoiled this image (Scott and Lyman, 1968). Ptacek (1988) suggests that individuals use these techniques irrespective of whether their accounts make sense (see also Hearn, 1998a). The following quote is taken from Ptacek’s (1988:149) work on interviews with intimately violent men.

It’s a condition of being out of control. She’s going on and on about how much money we need...I’ll listen to it for a while, but then, you know, you gotta get up and do something, you know. That’s the way I felt, the way to do it was go over and try to shut her up physically. I’d lose my head.

In his explanation above, the violent man talks about being ‘out of control’ in one sentence (which is an excuse that denies responsibility), yet in the next sentence he

attempts to justify his violence and seems to accept responsibility for it by suggesting that he purposefully decided to hit his partner (or ex-partner) to 'shut her up' (Ptacek, 1988:149).

Sykes and Matza (1957) suggest that these ways of talking that neutralise unacceptable behaviours are not attempts solely to manipulate the views of those around them. They argue that when individuals (these authors talk specifically about juveniles) commit an offence they experience guilt and perhaps shame, and they need to calm these emotions and the psychological discomfort that they engender.²¹ When an individual holds a positive attitude like knowing that violence is wrong, and their behaviour such as physically abusing a woman is not compatible with that attitude, the individual may alter that attitude, for instance by suggesting that the woman deserved the violence (see for example Festinger, 1959; see also Lamb, 1996). By using techniques such as justifications to neutralise their unacceptable behaviours, individuals clear their own blame and the blame projected on them by others (Sykes and Matza, 1957) by presenting an unspoiled 'self' (Goffman, 1968, 1971).

Scott and Lyman (1968:46) argue that accounts like these provided by individuals to make untoward behaviour acceptable are 'socially approved vocabularies'. To illustrate this they give an example of how an individual, who is depressed, accounts for why this is, by saying that they have family problems. The account is accepted because according to Scott and Lyman (1968:53) 'everyone knows that family problems are a cause of depression'. They argue that an account is likely to be accepted if those listening to the account share similar 'background expectancies' to those talking (1968:53). In certain groups particular accounts are more than likely to be accepted than in other contexts. Listeners of the account about depression may understand and accept the speaker's situation because the account is 'part of [their] socially distributed knowledge of what everyone knows' (Scott and Lyman, 1968:53). The individual does not need to provide any further account about why he is depressed. Thus, individuals will adapt their accounts, which can include the use of excuses and justifications, varying with the social circle and perceived expectancies of the group in which they speak, in order to make the account acceptable (Scott and Lyman, 1968).

²¹ Festinger (1959) refers to this as 'cognitive dissonance'.

It is important I demarcate my usage of the terms excuses and justifications and my interpretation of accounts from previous works. As mentioned, I have drawn on Hearn's (1998a) use of excuses and justifications. He, like Ptacek (1988), has applied Scott and Lyman's (1968) notions of these concepts. I make particular reference to Hearn's (1998a) analysis because Scott and Lyman (1968) do not talk specifically about domestic violence offenders, and Ptacek (1988) did not *solely* align justifications with accounts that blame the victim/survivor of the abuse.²² In addition, Hearn (1998a) and Ptacek (1988) mention Scott and Lyman's (1968:46) idea of accounts as 'socially approved vocabularies'. My interpretation of accounts as 'socially approved vocabularies' moves beyond that of Hearn's (1998a) to a Foucauldian analysis of discourse. I draw on Foucault's (1981:62, 1989:51) concept of 'societies of discourse' to understand the notion of 'socially approved vocabularies' (see below). Finally, Scott and Lyman (1968) draw on Sykes and Matza's (1957) techniques of neutralisation such as denial of injury and denial of the victim. There may be some overlap with my use of concepts and other authors. For instance, there is a similarity between justifications and Sykes and Matza's (1957:668) 'denial of the victim' because both accept responsibility for wrongful behaviour but blame the victim suggesting they deserved it. It is Hearn's (1998a) interpretation of men's explanations as justifications and excuses that are the most applicable to my conceptual framework. This is because his analysis distinguishes between excuses and justifications. To summarise, *excuses* accept blame for carrying out violence but the responsibility for it is placed elsewhere onto other 'factors' such as alcohol. *Justifications* place blame with the victim but accept responsibility for carrying out violence that is seen as deserved (for whatever reason the offender gives, see above). Therefore, specific accounts can be aligned with each concept (this served to clarify the process of my data analysis, see the next chapter).

²² Cavanagh *et al.* (2001) do not distinguish between excuses and justifications, or between blame and responsibility. Instead, they view men's accounts of violence as *deliberate* attempts to absolve them of *both* blame and responsibility.

3.2.2 Accounting for Violence in Programmes: Accepting Blame and Responsibility

Men's accounts of violence also come from the published and unpublished evaluations of domestic violence programmes in the UK (see chapter two). This research also shows how men use techniques such as justifications by blaming the victim for the violence (Ballantyne, 2001; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Claytor, 1996; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Justifications, as suggested, are indicative of an offender deflecting blame for his violence (Hearn, 1998a). Dobash, Dobash Cavanagh and Lewis (2000) suggest that if an offender is to begin the process of change he needs to own his violence by accepting blame and responsibility for it. Many domestic violence programmes subscribe to this view (see Ballantyne, 2001; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Brown and Williams, 1996; Claytor, 1996; Davies *et al.*, 1996; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Morran and Wilson, 1997; Skyner and Waters, 1999; Steele, 2000). As such, when researchers attempt to measure the outcome of these programmes they often include tests, usually administered before and after the intervention, to assess how far an offender accepts blame and responsibility for abusive behaviours. These outcome measures are then often seen as indicative of whether a programme 'works' (see Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Skyner and Waters, 1999).

Hearn (1998a) argues that men's admissions of both blame and responsibility (i.e. confessions) for violence can be bound up with complex alternative and contradictory meanings that conflate accepting blame and responsibility with a man's idea of masculinities. For example, men that construct a 'self' through the lens of 'traditional' (Pleck, 1981:140-141) or 'hegemonic' masculinity (Connell, 1987:183, 1995:77) may be likely to admit blame and/or responsibility for violence. This is because these masculinities characterise men as embodying physical strength, aggression, and misogynistic views, the latter presumably reinforces their own superiority as men (Pleck, 1981; see also Connell, 1987, 1995; MacInnes, 1998; Segal, 1990). Men may readily admit to hitting a woman because this reaffirms their dominant and macho image as men (Hearn, 1998a). This is similar to when men talk about engaging in violence with other men (see Dobash and Dobash, 1998; Thurston and Beynon, 1995).

Narrated this way, men often view intimate violence as normal and an accepted part of their life (Hearn, 1998a).²³

The reconstruction of masculinities, much like the unfixed 'self' is contradictory (Hearn, 1992; see also Davies and Harre, 1990, 1991). This is because of masculinities' dynamic fluid (Butler, 1999; Williams, 1996) and complex nature varying across socio-demographic variables (Connell, 1995, 2002; see also Radford, 1987; Segal, 1990), societies, cultures (Connell, 1995, 2002), place and time (Brittan, 1989; Williams, 1996; see also Butler, 1999). Dobash and Dobash (1998) suggest that men's accounts of intimate violence in their study did not contain admissions of blame and/or responsibility in ways that reaffirmed dominant masculine identities. Researchers who use concepts of responsibility and blame as indicative of men's ownership of violence, and then as subsequent gauges of success of an intervention (see Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Skyner and Waters, 1999), may be mislead given the complex structures to men's stories of violence.

In Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis' (2000) evaluation of two domestic violence programmes discussed in the last chapter, the researchers suggested that men who had attended a domestic violence intervention had learned the language of the programme about accepting blame and responsibility for their violent behaviours. Confirmation of this learning was found in some of the men's accounts of domestic violence and further corroborated by narratives from their female partners (see also Dobash, Cavanagh, Dobash and Lewis, 2000). The researchers concluded from this that some men had reduced their violent behaviours. It was also surmised that the other criminal justice sentences such as fines or probation, which men in the comparison group had been sentenced to, had a positive impact on men's violence, albeit this was thought not to be as successful as the programmes' effect (Dobash *et al.*, 1996a). These men, the

²³ Whilst Connell (1995:77; see also 1987) implies that men who view themselves through the lens of 'hegemonic' masculinity do not necessarily need to use violence because of this masculinity's 'claim to authority' and therefore dominance *per se*, he does suggest that underpinning authority is often violence. For this reason, men may use violence to maintain positions of dominance. Indeed, Connell (1995) suggests that violence is inevitable in a system (like patriarchy) where inequalities exist.

researchers suggested, had not acquired the language of the programme (Dobash, Cavanagh, Dobash and Lewis, 2000; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000).

Findings from an evaluation of a domestic violence programme carried out in the US, also discussed in chapter two, indicate that men attending such interventions acquired a new language. In Gondolf and Hanneken's (1987) research, men talked about changes in their attitudes, which facilitated an end to their violence. They said that the programme aided them to accept responsibility for violence and to rethink their concepts of masculinity, particularly those relating to gendered stereotypical roles of men and women (e.g. 'breadwinner' and 'housewife', respectively). They reassessed what they thought about women, which, they said, had positively affected their intimate relationships with them. The researchers in the British evaluation acknowledged the possibility that the men attending programmes might be simply providing the 'right' replies by 'talking programme talk' but not changing violent behaviour (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000:171; see also Burton *et al.*, 1998). Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis (2000) suggest that this does not explain how men's partners also talked about changes in men's abusive behaviours, since they did not attend the programmes and could not have learned the language of the programme (although the men could have told them about it).

There are limitations of evaluative research, which were discussed in the last chapter. These limitations impinge upon the certainty of the knowledge generated from such studies, for example claims about the extent of violent behaviours (see also chapter four). The implications are that men may represent their abuse differently from that which occurs in 'reality'. They may do this by drawing on the rhetoric of the programme, as the above suggests. Men may use a new language of programme rhetoric to represent a 'reality' that does not exist outside of the language used to reconstruct that 'reality' (see for example Derrida, 1974). Men's reconstructions of their violence then may be a version of 'reality' that their partners and ex-partners, or some other individual, may retell differently (see Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Plummer, 1995; Strinati, 1992).

To explain this idea further, the literature discussed above suggested that individuals strive to represent a positive image of the 'self' (to make unacceptable behaviours

appear acceptable). This 'self' directs the world around them (see Goffman, 1968, 1971, 1972; Scott and Lyman, 1968; Sykes and Matza, 1957). An unfixed and contradictory 'self' can also be represented within language. This 'self' directs diverse and multiple realities (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Hollway, 1998). As such, accepting accounts as individuals' attempts to *solely* and *tactically* excuse and justify untoward behaviours is limited without understanding the wider use and contextual nature of language (for example how violent men might use their 'treatment', such as a perpetrator programme, to talk about their abusive behaviours). After all, Scott and Lyman (1968:46) suggest that accounts are 'socially approved vocabularies' that vary according to the social group and context, in which they are used. This begins to tap into a Foucauldian perspective of language or knowledge as discourse. The following section discusses Foucault's (1981, 1989) work to understand language and discourses in their wider historical and institutional sense.

3.3 Discourse

3.3.1 De-Centring the Individual to Understand Discourse

Post-modern theorists consider that the 'self' is unfixed and contradictory (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Hollway, 1998). This is in contrast to literature which suggests that individuals, whether knowingly or unintentionally, account for untoward behaviours by using excuses and justifications to present a positive image of the 'self' to others and themselves (see Goffman, 1968, 1971, 1972; Sykes and Matza, 1957; see also Scott and Lyman, 1968). Post-modernists argue that it is not possible to know why individuals do this (see Burr, 2003). Foucault (1981) suggests that the *meaning* of narration does not originate within the individual who spoke or wrote the talk (which includes texts, see Gill, 2000), but from a group of discourses. Discourses are not the product of a speaking subject *per se* but bodies of knowledge; groupings of statements that derive historically and institutionally from subject disciplines such as biology, psychology and medicine (Foucault, 1981, 1989; see also Burton and Carlen, 1979). The speaker and author of talk is de-centred and displaced from the statements made and as the source of meaning of the words spoken and written (Derrida, 1970, 1978; Foucault, 1981). Deconstructing talk in this way analyses discourses (Burton and Carlen, 1979). In doing so understanding is sought from within discourse (Foucault, 1989).

Hollway (1998) argues that discourses provide positions for people to place themselves within, which Davies and Harre (1990:48, 1999:37) call 'reflexive positioning'. There is also 'interactive positioning' where an individual speaking positions others within discourses (Davies and Harre, 1990:48, 1999:37; see also Hollway, 1998). Hollway (1998:238) suggests that positioning within discourses serve as 'investments' for individuals. Drawing on Goffman's (1971) work, violent men may position reflexively within a particular discourse and outwith other discourses because of the presentation of an unspoiled 'self'. This construction of the 'self' is analysed through the lens of post-modern thinking. The 'self' is unfixed and contradictory, and positioning within discourses is similarly unfixed and contradictory (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Hollway, 1998). This is because, as Hollway (1998) argues, there is no single discourse. Some discourses are more dominant than other discourses. The nature of this dominance can fluctuate because new discourses develop over time yet they continue to coexist with older discourses. These discourses are often (but not always) competing and contradictory. This produces contradictory dominant and less dominant positions for individuals to take up when they narrate. Considering the investments for individuals of positioning within discourses may facilitate an understanding about changes in, and the contradictory nature of, the dominant or less dominant status of discourses (Hollway, 1998).

This may also assist in making sense of men's inconsistent accounts of violence (see Hearn, 1998a; Ptacek, 1988). Foucault (1989) discussed these contradictions within and of discourses. He argues that contradictions hide a unity: a 'single focus' narrative (1989:150). To uncover this narrative the speaker is displaced as holding the source of any meaning, and instead, understanding is sought within discourses, as suggested above (Foucault, 1981). Two or more discourses can be used to understand a specific narrative about some phenomenon (Burton and Carlen, 1979). For example, Hollway (1998:231) demarcated three discourses about men's sexual practices: 'the male sexual drive', 'the have/hold' and 'the permissive'. The male sexual drive discourse is, in some respects, in contradiction with the have/hold discourse, because the former suggests that men's sexual practices are driven by biology and the need to reproduce, whereas the latter does not focus on men's sexual practices explicitly, but rather on Christian beliefs about monogamy and familial relationships. This contradiction is made sense of because *both* discourses are used to construct a specific narrative about

men's sexual practices. Women are interactively positioned, as the above paragraph explains, within the two discourses as wife in have/hold discourse and whore in the male sexual drive discourse (Hollway, 1998). Hollway (1998) suggests that new discourses develop over time. Foucault (1981) talked about *The Order of Discourse* and the demarcating boundaries of the reproduction and circulation of knowledge as discourse. The following section discusses this.

3.3.2 Confines and Controls of Discourses

For Foucault (1989) then discourses are groupings of statements that derive historically from disciplines such as medicine, biology and psychology. Disciplines serve to limit the reconstruction and reproduction of statements over time. This is because particular disciplines are characterised by specific concepts, methods and propositions. Disciplines control the reproduction of a discourse within the boundaries (e.g. set methods used, concepts derived and propositions advanced) of that given discipline (Foucault, 1981). For instance, Hearn (1998a) gathered his sample of men from a number of agencies including the police, probation and prison services, and welfare-related organisations. The men who had been drawn from agencies aligned with psychiatric services, often talked about their violence as related to psychological problems. Such talk emanates from a discipline of psychology, which gains legitimacy and influence in the 'institutional sites' of the psychiatric services (see for example Foucault, 1989:51).

Foucault (1981, 1989) did not completely deny the existence of the author and speaker of talk but contested the origins, the starting point, of the meanings of their statements. He suggested that individuals work and speak from within the historical and institutional confines of discourses. He argues that particular discourses such as medical and psychiatric are circulated in a specific and restrictive fashion by individuals working in 'institutional sites' and also in what he terms 'societies of discourse' (1981:62, 1989:51). The latter refers to when individuals, who work within a specific institutional domain, align to a particular doctrine such as political and religious. This alliance serves to maintain the reproduction of set statements and thus discourses in accordance with the given doctrine. For example, in the US, Ptacek (1988) analysed the clinical literature wrote by those who work with intimately violent men, particularly psychologists and psychiatrists. He suggests that these practitioners describe violence

in irrational or pathological terms (see also Borkowski, Murch and Walker, 1983). Hearn (1998a) interviewed practitioners involved with men's domestic violence programmes, as well as reading case files, and he indicated that workers also discussed men's abusive behaviours in relation to psychiatric and psychological problems. Therefore, disciplines, individuals, institutional domains and alliance to particular doctrines interplay to maintain and control the reproduction and circulation of discourses (Foucault, 1981, 1989).

If institutional sites serve to restrict the reproduction of discourses then understanding the context and historical development of these sites, particularly in relation to discourses, are important (Foucault, 1981, 1989). The last two chapters identified three institutional domains of probation practice with offenders. These were the assessment, case management and programme (see for example Chapman and Hough, 1998). This chapter specifically identifies the fourth site, albeit not institutional, but a space in which discourse is deployed. The site or domain is men's talk. This is important because Foucault (1981), as suggested, indicates that individuals also control the reproduction and circulation of discourses. This is particularly so if their access to discourses is impeded. Individuals may be restricted to gaining access to discourses because they are not qualified to use them or they do not pass specific requirements (Foucault, 1981). For example, in Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis' (2000) research men in the comparison group, who had not been given a condition (of their court order) to attend a domestic violence programme, did not have access to the language of, and discourses contained within the intervention. These men did not deploy any new and alternate use of language compared to the men who had attended the programme (see above).

Hearn (1998a) echoes this by suggesting that the specific context in which male perpetrators of domestic violence are 'treated' influences their particular deployment of discourse and use of language about violence. This may be because men consider that there are investments for them to conform to the agency's use of discourse (see Davies and Harre, 1990; Hollway, 1998). This is especially so in criminal justice domains since failure to do so may invoke serious repercussions, such as the imposition of a more punitive sentence (see NPS, 2001; see also Bottoms, 2001). For instance, men in Hearn's (1998a) study, who were in prison convicted of murder, often talked from a

viewpoint of a violent man convicted of murder. Thus, men often began interviews with details of their violence. Men in programmes spoke from a perspective of a violent man who had been convicted of assault. This is because the context of the agencies (such as prison) and the language and dominant discourses within the organisations had defined them this way (i.e. as a murderer).

It is conducive then to understand how practitioners and violent men deploy discourses within the over-arching contexts in which they practice and are 'treated', respectively. This may serve to illuminate the restrictive nature of the organisational themes on individuals talk (see Garland, 2001; Hearn, 1998b). However, individuals do not always use dominant organisational discourses (Robinson and McNeill, 2004). They may not understand or are oblivious to the discourses, or they may want to delineate with alternative discourses (Davies and Harre, 1990). This is because of the investments this serves for them (as the above paragraph implies). Hence, the importance of considering the investments for individuals of positioning within and outwith discourses to understand discourses, and to ultimately make sense of men's accounts of violence (see Hollway, 1998).

What Hearn's (1998a) research suggests are the possibilities for men's accounts of violence to differ, influenced by the agency context in which they are 'treated' and by the practitioners who surround them. Hearn (1998a) suggests that men in programmes talked about violence that illustrated many examples of abuse, sometimes drawing on incidents that had occurred over many years. This was indicative, Hearn (1998a) argues, of men who had recounted these stories before: stories that perhaps had hints of being moulded, reconstructed and refined amidst the influence of discourses to which men had been exposed. These ideas served to develop my own study by considering how practitioners *and* violent men use official and unofficial rhetoric, including that relating to perpetrator programmes, to talk about the 'treatment' of intimately violent men.

The following section considers how academic theories have explained men's intimate violence against women. This facilitates an understanding of how practitioners and violent men use official and unofficial rhetoric to talk about the 'treatment' of intimately violent offenders. Some of the studies carried out on the aetiology of

domestic violence offending are considered, although what follows is in no way an exhaustive review of this literature. Moreover, the next section does not provide a critique of these studies. Some of the research is limited even from within its own epistemological stance, but it is not my aim to present these methodological limitations (see chapter four). Rather the following reviews some of the research in order to draw out the ‘factors’ identified as related to domestic violence offending.

3.4 Theorising Male Intimate Violence Against Women

Domestic violence re-emerged as a recognised social problem in the UK in the late 1960s and early 1970s (see Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Smith, 1989). Since then numerous explanations about the causes of it have been advanced, both in the US and UK. Some of these explanations have drawn on positivist tenets. Positivism views the causes of criminal behaviour as deriving from ‘factors’ related to the biology, physiology and psychology of an individual, or due to social and environmental features in an individual’s circumstances. Some positivists believe then that the causes of crime are located beyond individual choice and reason, and thus outside of their control. Offenders then may not be responsible for their crimes (Ferri, 1996; see also Durkheim, 1996). Theories emanating from the positivist school of thought might view violence as the result of mentally disordered individuals (see Faulk, 1974; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003). Other explanations consider the role of social structural ‘factors’ such as the perceived link between failing to fulfil rigid ‘sex role’ expectations, like that of ‘bread winner’, and abusive behaviours (O’Brien, 1971). Here, it is thought that violence is used to regain power when other resources such as money are lacking (Anderson, 1997; Goode, 1971; see also Jasinski, 2001; Walby, 1990). The latter reason shares some similarities with some feminist theorising about domestic violence. Some feminists argue that men chose to use violence in intimate relationships in order to gain and maintain positions of power over female partners and ex-partners (Dobash and Dobash, 1979, 1984; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). This kind of theorising is more akin to the classical school of thought that suggest individuals are responsible for their criminal behaviours having choice to behave in alternative (non-criminal) ways (see Clarke, 1980; Cornish and Clarke, 1986). The first part of this section identifies those ‘factors’ that positivists suggest are integral to theorising about male intimate violence against women.

3.4.1 Pathologising Intimate Violence

Individualised explanations of domestic violence have focused on the ‘deviant’ aspects of perpetrators (and victims) (Smith, 1989). In the UK, Faulk (1974) interviewed 23 male offenders who had committed serious physical acts of intimate violence and who were subsequently remanded in custody. Findings indicate that 14 men (61 per cent) were suffering, at the time of the offence, from a mental disorder. This included five men suffering from depression, three from delusional jealousy and the remaining six from a personality disorder, anxiety state and dementia (see Prins, 1995:87 for details of ‘mental disturbances’). In a more recent study, Gilchrist, Johnson, Takriti, Weston, Beech and Kebbell (2004; see also 2003) gathered mainly quantitative data from 336 male domestic violence perpetrators, drawn from six probation areas. Most of the men had been sentenced to a Community Rehabilitation Order or a Community Punishment and Rehabilitation Order with a condition to attend a domestic violence programme. Information was extracted from case files of these men, and 65 per cent (219) of them completed psychometric tests. Details about men’s mental health were taken from 269 of the case files. Findings suggest that of this sample, 28 per cent of men (75) were suffering from depression. Other mental health related problems were anger identified in 7 men and stress in 6 men (Gilchrist *et al.*, 2004).

Practitioners have described intimate violence as occurring when men lose their temper (Borkowski *et al.*, 1983; Cantoni, 1981). In this sense, violence is thought of as ‘expressive’ (McGuire, 2000:77). Men are viewed as out of control when they act expressively (McGuire, 2000; Stanko, 1994; see for example Morran, 1995). Such violence is sometimes linked to men who are under the influence of alcohol or illegal drugs (Ptacek, 1988; see also Beattie, 1997; Morran, 1995, 1996). In the US, Ptacek (1988) found that six out of the eighteen male perpetrators he interviewed said that they lost some control when they had taken drugs or consumed alcohol. Three men said that they specifically lost control because of alcohol use. In Gilchrist *et al.*’s, (2004, see also 2003) research details about the consumption of alcohol was taken from 287 case files of the violent men (see above). Findings suggest that 73 per cent (209) of this sample had consumed alcohol before the offence took place. In interviews with 100 victims/survivors of domestic violence, Gayford (1975) found that in almost half of the cases (44) violence happened when the man was intoxicated due to alcohol use. Other

research carried out on victims of domestic violence appears to indicate that they mention the role of alcohol in abusive behaviours much less, compared to offenders in the study by Gilchrist *et al.* (2004). Dobash and Dobash (1979:247) interviewed 109 women, the majority of whom were in refuges for abused women of domestic violence in Scotland, and found that 10 per cent (11) said that alcohol was a 'source of conflict' in violent incidents. Pahl (1985) interviewed 42 women who were in a refuge, and found that 31 per cent cited alcohol as a cause of, or related in some way to the most recent act of abuse perpetrated against them. British Crime Survey figures similarly suggest that a third of domestic violence assaults in England and Wales occurred when the perpetrator had consumed alcohol (Mirrlees-Black, 1999). In the US, Walker (1984) found in interviews with 403 abused women that one-fifth of perpetrators had used alcohol during violent incidents (see Finney, 2004 for a wider review of the literature about alcohol use and domestic violence behaviours).

Practitioners also cite alcohol as an explanation for intimately violent behaviours. Borkowski *et al.* (1983) administered questionnaires and carried out interviews with 200 practitioners, such as social workers, doctors and solicitors, and found that they frequently mentioned alcohol as a reason for domestic violence behaviours. Gilchrist and Blisset (2002) carried out a study with 67 magistrates. They presented them with six different vignettes about violent offences, both stranger and intimate violence. Magistrates were to consider the different offences and recommend a corresponding sentence. Gilchrist and Blissett (2002) noted the rationale driving these sentencing decisions. They suggested that in relation to crimes of domestic violence, magistrates' talk was comparable to perpetrators in that magistrates often viewed alcohol as reducing the responsibility of the offender. Thus, magistrates excused offenders' behaviour on the grounds of alcohol consumption.

Pizzey and Shapiro (1981, 1982) focused on the female victims/survivors of the abuse. They suggested that women's addiction to the excitement of the violence led them to seek and to return to abusive relationships.²⁴ Walker's (1984:147, 1988:145) American

²⁴ Pizzey had not always thought along these lines. In her book, *Scream Quietly or the Neighbours will Hear* she criticised arguments about women deserving and provoking the intimate violence committed against them (Pizzey, 1974), whereas in her later publications she somewhat agreed with these critiques (see Pizzey and Shapiro, 1981, 1982).

study of 403 abused women of domestic violence coined the phrase ‘battered women’s syndrome’; suggesting women’s ‘learned helplessness’ perpetuated the abuse and led to a ‘cycle of violence’. Women are often blamed for men’s violence, particularly by perpetrators (Morran, 1996). Ptacek (1988) noted that out of the eighteen intimately violent men, eight said they were provoked to violence by the victim due to her aggression. Fourteen men justified their violence saying it was because of her failure to be ‘a good wife’ and carry out her domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning and providing sex (Ptacek, 1988:147; see also Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). In Gilchrist and Blissett’s (2002) study, they found that when magistrates were making sentencing decisions for domestic violence assaults they often blamed the victim for the offender’s behaviour. In contrast to these perceived individual pathological ‘factors’, the following section considers the role of social structural ‘factors’ in domestic violence behaviours.

3.4.2 Social Structural ‘Factors’

Other theories advanced to explain intimate violence consider the role of social structural ‘factors’. Here, the abuse has often been explained as an outcome of some frustration or stress (Freeman, 1979). Goode (1971) suggested that, particularly in lower class families, husbands used force because they lacked other resources such as money to attain power and privilege (see also Messerschmidt, 1993). In the US, O’Brien (1971) interviewed 150 individuals who were or were about to be divorced. Findings suggest that in 16 per cent of families husbands frequently used physical violence against their wives. Such violence was especially prevalent in families where the husband was not accomplishing well in the ‘breadwinner’ role. O’Brien (1971) suggests that in order to reinforce his superior position within the family (lost perceivably because of not being able to provide for his family) violence was used. In research more recent, Anderson (1997) analysed data drawn from the *National Survey of Families* in the US with a sample of 2,489 women and 2,459 men, to collate socio-demographic features and other information about male perpetrators. Findings suggest that low levels of income were related to domestic violence, particularly when perpetrators earned less than their female partners did. Anderson (1997) also argues that men who lack financial resources may use violence as a way of maintaining or gaining power. She indicated finding no link between men’s low levels of education and intimate violence, but she notes that her results were unclear about this. O’Brien

(1971) found that husbands who committed intimate violence were less educated than their wives were.

Another way of theorising about male intimate violence against women is violence as learned usually in childhood within the family. This premise rests on the tenets of social learning theory (Jasinski, 2001). Bandura (1970, 1983) argues that individuals learn from direct experiences by viewing the violent behaviour of others, and noting the consequences of such actions. An individual can learn both emotional and behavioural responses by watching the reactions of others who are experiencing pleasant or distressing events. This produces inhibitions (positive or negative) in the observer, despite the behaviour not being directed at that individual. Research has shown that some male perpetrators of domestic violence have witnessed their mother being physically abused by their father both in the UK and US (DeMaris and Jackson 1987; Grusznski and Carrillo, 1988; Hotaling and Sugarman, 1986; Johnston, 1988; Roy, 1982; Strauss, Gelles and Steinmetz, 1980; Walker, 1984; see British studies Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003, 2004; see also Gayford, 1975).²⁵

To summarise, explanations that relate mental illness, alcohol and drugs, stress, money, and violence as learned, to domestic violence behaviours are, according to Hearn (1998a), excuses that remove responsibility from the offender for his abuse. The above suggests that in official and unofficial studies, practitioners, violent men, and victims/survivors of the abuse use some of these reasons to explain domestic violence. Explanations discussed above that blame victims/survivors of the abuse for men's violence are justifications, which subsequently remove blame from the offender (Hearn, 1998a). Again, in the official and unofficial studies, practitioners (e.g. magistrates) and violent men justify men's abusive behaviours in this way. It appears then that all these 'factors' have been connected to domestic violence offending in some way. Such 'factors' are often termed by the 'what works' agenda as the 'criminogenic needs' and 'dynamic risk 'factors'' of offenders (McGuire, 2000:98; see chapter two). The following section reviews the literature on offenders' needs and risks.

²⁵ See Humphreys and Mullender (2000) for a review of the methodological limitations of such research that implies links between witnessing or experiencing abuse as a child/adolescent and then committing violence as an adult.

3.4.3 Conflating Offender Needs and Offender Risks

A review of the literature on offenders' criminogenic needs provides some broad agreement about what these might be including alcohol and drug use, poor education and employment prospects, low levels of income and problems with finances, difficulties with accommodation and housing, mental health issues such as depression, and previous experiences of abuse (Aubrey and Hough, 1997; Farrall, 2002; Wallis, 1997). Farrall (2002) refers to such needs as obstacles militating against offenders ending their criminal behaviours. It is thought, by Farrall (2002), that addressing these 'factors' is integral to stopping crime. Research has detailed the nature of intimately violent offenders' risk 'factors', and presented these as 'factors' that increase the likelihood of risks of harm and violence. These include previous and ongoing acts of abuse, mental health disturbances, substance misuse including alcohol, witnessing or experiencing violence as a child and adolescent, unemployment and financial problems; as well as the assigning of blame and responsibility for violence onto some other person or thing (e.g. using justifications and excuses) (Kropp, Hart, Webster and Eaves, 2002). Kropp *et al.* (2002) present risk 'factors' specifically about intimately violent offenders, whereas the literature on needs is about offenders in general. Yet, there is much overlap between 'factors' presented in each review. Most of them were discussed or touched upon in the academic explanations of intimate violence above.

Kropp *et al.* (2002) present risk 'factors' as increasing the risks of violent behaviours. Farrall (2002) *also* likens his notion of offender needs (i.e. obstacles) to risk 'factors' that impinge upon continued re-offending. He thus merges needs and risks (see also Carlen, 2002; Carlen and Worrall, 2004; Hannah-Moffat, 1999 for similar debates in relation to women in prisons). This is much like Calverley *et al.* (2004:22-23), who suggest that criminogenic needs are 'characteristics of a person or his/her situation, which increase the risk of re-offending but are in principle capable of change, in other words dynamic risk 'factors''.²⁶ In a similar view, Andrews and Bonta (1994) argue that criminogenic needs are linked to an offender's level of risk since by changing needs this will affect re-offending behaviours. They suggest that non-criminogenic needs are

²⁶ There are also static risk 'factors' that cannot be altered, but they may influence the risk of re-offending. Examples include witnessing or experiencing abuse as a child or adolescent and previous convictions (Kropp *et al.*, 2002; see also Hudson, 2003).

those needs that may also be altered, but they do not necessarily have a bearing upon recidivism (see also Carlen and Worrall, 2004). Aubrey and Hough (1997:3) likewise suggest that ‘offenders’ problems reflect needs only if their resolution reduces the risk of re-offending’. The Home Office (2002a, 2002b) also have a similar view. The official assessment tools currently in use to assess offenders’ needs and risks, such as OASys and PSRs, do not overall distinguish between the two concepts. They also merge needs with risks by suggesting that the purpose of identifying the former is to assess the latter in terms of risk of harm and re-offending (see also chapter one). Targeting these (merged) need and risk ‘factors’ are seen as important to reducing re-offending behaviours (McGuire, 2000).

This conflation of needs and risks are part of risk discourse about assessing, managing and reducing risks to reduce re-offending behaviours (see Robinson, 1999; see also Garland, 1997). Farrall’s (2002) initial concept on the other hand of criminogenic needs, as obstacles to address to stop offending, are part of rehabilitation discourse because this discourse is about changing offenders’ attitudes and behaviours, and subsequently their situations in order to end crime (see Robinson, 1999, 2002; Robinson and McNeill, 2004; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992; Garland, 1997, 2001).

The latter part of this chapter focuses on this notion of criminogenic needs as ‘factors’ to be altered in order to stop men’s violence. Feminist theorising about intimate violence is discussed, particularly the underlying beliefs that facilitate men’s assigning of blame for violence onto the victim/survivor of the abuse. The following section focuses on those theories that suggest offending behaviours are rational and chosen. This is in contrast to theories that construct intimate violence as pathological and abnormal, and thus out of the offender’s control.

3.4.4 Choosing Violence

Classical notions of criminal behaviours suggest that they are rationally chosen, often with the offender weighing up the risks and rewards to seek gain from their acts (see Clarke, 1980; Cornish and Clarke, 1986). Some feminist theorising about domestic violence behaviours similarly consider that men chose to use violence to control their partners and ex-partners in order to gain and maintain positions of power and privilege in intimate relationships (Dobash and Dobash, 1979, 1984; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh

and Lewis, 2000). In Ptacek's (1988) research, 12 out of the 18 intimately violent men interviewed said that they intended to either frighten or hurt their partners to quieten, punish and attain dominance over them (see also Dobash and Dobash, 1998). Thus, Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis (2000) suggest that men are responsible and blameworthy for their violent behaviours.

Hearn (1998a) argues that the responses of organisations that 'treat' intimately violent men need to situate men's violence against women in this context of men's domination over them, instead of viewing the problem of men's violence as the outcome of men's anger. Hearn (1998a) found some understanding about power and control issues in intimately violent relationships by practitioners working on men's domestic violence programmes. Scourfield (1998) carried out a study to explore how masculinities and differences of gender were constructed within the probation service. He gathered data from interviews with 14 probation officers in one probation service and termed this 'professional rhetoric', whereas his reading of case files, which included PSRs, was labelled 'practice' (1998:588). Findings suggest that whilst practitioners talked about concentrating on their cases identity as men (since men formed a large part of their caseloads), the case files suggest that the construction of masculinities were indirectly challenged and gender differences largely ignored. Scourfield (1998:581) suggests that practitioners may have colluded with men about 'oppressive masculinities' (see also Home Office, 2004a). Scourfield (1998) noted a paradox then between 'professional rhetoric' and 'practice'. He argues though that all information is rhetoric because case files have a specific audience such as other probation officers and senior management. Practitioners then are likely to work from within the dominant themes of policy and practice in their organisation (Hearn, 1998a, 1998b).

Some feminists have suggested that attitudes about male privilege, sexual jealousy and possessiveness are 'sources of conflict' in domestic violence incidences (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; 1984:273; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; see Daly and Wilson, 1988; Pence and Paymar, 1993; see also Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003, 2004 about the main context of violence in their study, involving jealousy). Feminists have also recognised that violence is ongoing, often increasing in severity and frequency (Mullender, 1996a; Mullender and Morley, 1994; see also Smith, 1989; Walker, 1984). Kropp *et al.* (2002) identify the ongoing nature of intimate violence as a risk 'factor'

increasing the risk of violence and harm. As such, it ultimately comprises part of risk discourse (as suggested). Some feminists consider that 'factors' such as the attitudes that underlay men's violence against women as criminogenic needs that (for instance in rehabilitation discourse) require change to end men's abuse (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; see also Burton *et al.*, 1998; Morran and Wilson, 1997). It appears that most domestic violence programmes in the UK were underpinned by such feminist principles or they claimed to draw on these tenets (Mullender and Burton, 2000; Scourfield and Dobash, 1999; see also Eadie and Knight, 2002). As discussed in the last chapter, these aim to re-educate men about men's and women's changing roles and identities, and challenge men's deliberate use of tactics to control female partners and ex-partners. Programmes used a combined framework of CBT and feminist principles to attempt to change men's distorted thoughts about women in intimate relationships (Scourfield and Dobash, 1999).

3.5 Conclusion

The conclusion to this chapter is lengthy but it is necessary to discuss some of the implications of the above. The chapter set out to understand how intimately violent men explain their abuse, as well as to consider the 'factors' thought to be important in domestic violence offending. In relation to how violent men talk about their abusive behaviours, they use techniques such as excuses and justifications. These absolve men of responsibility and blame for their violence, respectively (Hearn, 1998a). In using them, men present a positive image of the 'self' to others and to themselves (Goffman, 1968, 1971, 1972; Sykes and Matza, 1957). The evaluative literature on domestic violence offending behaviour programmes also suggests how men justify their violent behaviours by blaming the victim/survivor of the abuse. Programmes subscribe to men accepting blame for violence (see Ballantyne, 2001; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Claytor, 1996; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000) so that they can begin the process of changing their abusive behaviours (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Hearn's (1998a) analysis of men accepting blame and responsibility for violence, suggested how this 'acceptance' maybe bound up with man's notions of being masculine and embodying masculinities (rather than symbolising men's reduction/cessation of violence).

Evaluative research that uses measures of men's acceptance of violence as indicative of successful domestic violence interventions may be misleading (see for example Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Skyner and Waters, 1999). Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis (2000) in their evaluation of two domestic violence programmes argued that men who had attended the intervention had learned the language of the programme about accepting blame and responsibility for violence and they had subsequently reduced their abuse. This chapter suggested that men could acquire this talk and use it to represent a version of 'reality' different to men's actual levels of violence. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, even from within their own epistemological stance of carrying out empirical research, evaluative studies, including those carried out on domestic violence programmes are limited in many respects. This distorts the 'reality' they purport to present (see Bowen *et al.*, 2002; Burns *et al.*, 1991; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Eisikovits and Edleson, 1989, Gondolf, 2004; see also chapter two). Secondly, from within a discourse analysis approach the representation of realities as certain and verifiable knowledge that depicts an actual 'reality' of a life that is lived is highly contested. Instead, such information is considered as more diverse (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Plummer, 1995; Strinati, 1992).

Taking at 'face value' men's acceptance of blame and responsibility can be problematic, but the following three caveats make the picture even more complex. Firstly, as suggested, empirical evaluative research on domestic violence programmes is limited; secondly, as also implied, another analytical perspective will adopt a different stance about men's accounts of violence; and thirdly, that the wider context (over and above programmes) in which men deploy their accounts needs to be understood (see Scott and Lyman, 1968). Scott and Lyman (1968:46) suggest that explanations of untoward behaviours are 'socially approved vocabularies' that vary according to the social group in which they are used. This led the chapter to consider discourse and the work of Foucault (1981, 1989). For Foucault (1981, 1989), discourses are statements that are reproduced and circulated in a restrictive fashion throughout differing institutional domains. This can be likened to men in Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis' (2000) study, who attended a perpetrator programme and acquired the talk of the intervention about accepting blame and responsibility for violence. Men who had been given other criminal justice interventions such as fines or (straight) probation were restricted in

gaining access to the talk of the programme because they did not pass specific requirements (see Foucault, 1981) (e.g. the court had not given them a condition to attend the intervention). This restriction to the institutional domain of the programme meant that these men did not deploy any new and alternate use of language compared to the men who had attended the intervention (Dobash, Cavanagh, Dobash and Lewis, 2000).

This chapter considered how individuals' position within discourses (like those of the programme) and outwith others (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999). This is because of the investments this may serve for them (Hollway, 1998). Using the talk of the programme presents a positive image of the 'self' because it suggests compliance with the intervention. Speaking outwith this discourse may indicate non-compliance and men risk facing a more punitive criminal justice sentence (see NPS, 2001; see also Bottoms, 2001). Understanding the investments of positioning within discourses may illuminate the dominant and less dominant nature of discourses in specific contexts (such as that of the probation service and the different domains therein) as well as resolving perceived contradictions in individuals' positioning (see Foucault, 1989; Hollway, 1998). In comprehending the latter, men's inconsistent accounts of violence can be made sense of.

Foucault (1981:62, 1989:51) also suggested discourses were constrained by disciplines and 'societies of discourse', as well as by individuals and 'institutional sites'. Hearn (1998a) argues that the context of the agency in which men are 'treated' influences how individuals talk about their violence. Intimately violent men who were 'treated' within psychiatric services (a society of a particular discourse or discourses) spoke about their abuse from a discipline of psychology and psychiatry because the dominant organisational rhetoric in this institutional domain had defined them this way (i.e. as irrational or pathological). The practitioners who were involved with the men's domestic violence programmes in Hearn's (1998a) study also discussed men's abusive behaviours in relation to psychiatric and psychological problems (see also Ptacek, 1988). Practitioners then are likely to work within the organisations' dominant themes of policy and practice (Hearn, 1998b).

The latter part of this chapter reviewed the academic theories about male intimate violence against women. 'Factors' such as anger, stress, mental illness, alcohol and

drugs, finances and employment, and violence as learned in the family were thought of as integral to explaining such offending behaviours. Violent men and practitioners alike considered that alcohol consumption and the behaviour of the female victim/survivor of the abuse, as linked to domestic violence (Gilchrist and Blissett, 2002; Ptacek, 1988). These explanations remove responsibility and blame from men for their violence, and onto the ‘factor’ mentioned, for example alcohol and the victim, respectively (Hearn, 1998a). Yet, most of these ‘factors’ were identified in the official and unofficial literature on the criminogenic needs and risk ‘factors’ of offenders. Needs were conflated as risks that could be altered in order to reduce re-offending behaviours (Andrews and Bonta, 1994; Aubrey and Hough, 1997; Calverley *et al.*, 2004, Home Office, 2002b; see also Farrall, 2002; Kropp *et al.*, 2002). Feminists who view men’s violence against women as instrumental and intentional (and therefore that men are blameworthy and responsible for their abuse) consider that men’s underlying beliefs about women in intimate relationships are the criminogenic needs of domestic violence offenders. These needs require change to end men’s violence (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; see also Burton *et al.*, 1998; Morran and Wilson, 1997). This chapter reviewed how these ‘factors’, in accordance with ‘what works’ rhetoric, are taken into account so that they can be targeted and altered by offending behaviour programmes. As discussed in chapter two, in relation to domestic violence programmes, this entailed an underpinning framework of CBT and feminist principles (Mullender and Burton, 2000; Scourfield and Dobash, 1999).

This chapter has ultimately illustrated the similarities between the ways men talk about their violence; the theories about why such abuse happens; the literature on risks and needs; and the discourses of risk and rehabilitation as ways to deal and work with intimately violent offenders. The techniques used by men to account for domestic violence, like excuses, are connected to theories about domestic violence offending. For example, talk about the role of alcohol in domestic violence can be seen as an excuse to remove responsibility from the offender for his violence (Hearn, 1998a; Morran, 1996; Stanko, 1994). The Home Office (2002b) implies that misuse of alcohol is a (risk) ‘factor’ linked to an offenders’ risk of violence and related harm. Reducing risks of re-offending by assessing, managing and reducing offenders’ risks is a way of talking about how to deal with intimately violent offenders in the NPS (see Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001 and chapter one).

This chapter has expanded upon how I aimed to address my research question about how an area of the NPS ‘treats’ intimately violent offenders. This involved analysing the ways in which practitioners *and* intimately violent men draw upon the official and unofficial rhetoric to talk about the ‘treatment’ of male intimately violent offenders. The next chapter considers the aim of the research in more detail, the objectives of the study, the research methods used and the analytical approach adopted.

CHAPTER FOUR

DESIGNING THE STUDY: METHODS OF RESEARCH AND ANALYTICAL APPROACH

4.1 Introduction

My PhD began as an evaluation. During the course of the study, I changed approach. This chapter argues for this alternative approach to studying the ‘treatment’ of domestic violence offenders: an approach that moves beyond evaluative studies to discourse analysis. However, it is important to stress that my approach did not attempt to overcome the limitations of evaluative research. Instead, the aim of my study was to:

analyse the ways in which the ‘treatment’ of intimately violent men is constructed in the context of the probation service, using a discourse analysis approach.

This task was broken down into the following objectives:

- (i) to explore the deployment of discourses in the official and unofficial instruments used to assess men;
- (ii) to consider practitioners’ use of dominant and less dominant discourses in their supervision of offenders;
- (iii) to analyse the deployment of discourses in the domain of a domestic violence programme (DVP);
- (iv) to understand intimately violent men’s use of discourses in their talk.

My research followed the path of domestic violence offenders from sentence to their completion of a domestic violence programme. This included carrying out interviews with men as well as relevant practitioners, observing the perpetrator programme, and analysing the programme manual and case files of the men. Given that the programme was one year in duration, data was gathered over this period.

The purpose of this chapter is to detail how the research aim and objectives were formulated and carried out. The chapter begins by providing an overview of my study. It discusses one of the perceived limitations of evaluative research about understanding men’s apparent acceptance of blame and responsibility for violence. This leads into a discussion of the theoretical and conceptual framework driving my research, including

the reasons for adopting a discourse analysis approach. I then outline how I gained access to the organisations. Following this is a consideration of the ethical issues in gathering data. Here, researchers' codes of ethics are referred to, particularly relating to confidentiality and anonymity. This section ends with key points on the safety of the researcher. I then consider the multiple methods used for gathering the qualitative data, including how these particular methods were useful for my revised study. Related to this, the next section details the data that was excluded from the analysis and the reasons for this. This is followed by a detailed discussion of how the data that was included was analysed. A whole picture is presented of the data and the dominant and subordinate themes therein. The chapter concludes with the possible limitations of my analytical approach.

4.2 Overview of the Research

4.2.1 From Evaluation to Discourse Analysis: An Alternative Approach

The review of evaluative research on domestic violence programmes, discussed in chapter two, had pointed to the difficulties in carrying out what is seen to be a methodologically rigorous evaluation. Many limitations of this research were noted: problems with using random samples, lack of control and comparison groups, small sample sizes, and limited follow-up research post-intervention (Bowen *et al.*, 2002; Burns *et al.*, 1991; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Eisikovits and Edleson, 1989, Gondolf, 2004).

One of the limitations was that different studies use varying measures of success to ascertain whether an intervention 'works' (Edleson, 1996; Eisikovits and Edleson, 1989; Tolman and Bennett, 1990; Tolman and Edleson, 1995). I was particularly intrigued by some of these outcome measures. British research had focused on the offender's acceptance of blame and responsibility (Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Skyner and Waters, 1999). Researchers had considered that the more blame and responsibility an offender accepted for his abusive behaviours, the more likely he was to begin the process of change towards ending his violence (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Many domestic violence programmes subscribed to this notion of men's ownership of their violence (Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Claytor, 1996; Davies *et al.*, 1996; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and

Lewis, 2000; Morran and Wilson, 1997; Skyner and Waters, 1999; Steele, 2000; see also RESPECT, 2000, 2004). Dobash, Cavanagh, Dobash and Lewis' (2000) research suggested that men who had attended a domestic violence intervention learned the language of the programme about accepting blame and responsibility for abusive behaviours. There was a possibility though men might be intentionally providing the 'right' replies by using the talk of the programme, rather than actually changing their attitudes or reducing/ceasing their violence. However, researchers said this did not explain how men's partners talked about changes in men because they did not attend programmes (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; see also Burton *et al.*, 1998).

Some of the literature on offender's narratives of violence suggested that men's accounts were riddled with inconsistencies. Their explanations for abusive behaviours often did not make sense (Ballantyne, 2001; Hearn, 1998a; Ptacek, 1988). Ptacek (1988:149) illustrated how a man could talk about being 'out of control' then in the next sentence describe how he purposefully decided to hit his partner (or ex-partner) to 'shut her up' (see Hearn, 1998a; see also chapter three). Evaluative research attempts to make sense of this contradiction by suggesting that men deny blame for violence and knowingly place this with the victim/survivor of the abuse (Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Skyner and Waters, 1999). In a similar way, men are considered to deflect responsibility for abuse by suggesting it was because of alcohol or anger (Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Viewing men's narratives in these ways might suggest that programmes are limited in their capacity to bring about change in men's violent behaviours. This is because, as suggested, men need to own their violence so that they can initiate the change process (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Yet given men's contradictory accounts of violence understanding them as linear narratives of change is problematic.

Driven by the complexity of men's narratives of violence and the uncertain knowledge from evaluative research, I began to think of my research differently. I was starting to view men's accounts of violence as non-linear. There was a possibility that they were constructed within the contexts in which men speak (e.g. a 'treatment' programme). Men (and possibly their partners by drawing on men's talk) may use the language of the

programme, whether knowingly or unintentionally, to construct a 'reality' that may not symbolise an actual reduction in violence (see for example Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; see also Hearn, 1998a). The 'reality' they had represented in their talk may not exist outside the realm of the language of the programme and the discourses contained within (see Burr, 2003; Derrida, 1974; Gill, 2000 about the construction of language). This led me to think of men's talk as different from men's behaviours. Conceiving of knowledge this way meant that the representation of an actual incident could be retold in a number of ways (see Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Plummer, 1995; Strinati, 1992). I was viewing knowledge as diverse and situating it within its wider historical and institutional setting. Knowledge was thus part of discourse (Foucault, 1981, 1989). It was important then to consider the wider institutional and historical context of men's 'treatment' within the probation service. It was after gathering my data that I became fully aware of the implications of the above and adopted the analytical approach of discourse analysis to understand how the probation area that formed the centre of my research talked about the 'treatment' of intimately violent offenders.

4.2.2 Discourse Analysis: Making Sense of Talk

Evaluative research to varying degrees is based on epistemological 'truths' (see for example Worrall, 1990 about epistemology and 'truth').²⁷ 'Epistemology is about how we know what we know' (Crow, 2001:40; see also Harding, 1987; Ramazanoglu with Holland, 2002). It is the belief that 'reality', to different extents, can be known (Ramazanoglu with Holland, 2002). Burton and Carlen (1979:15) argue that 'discourse analysis has displaced epistemology'. This is because discourse analysis is not concerned about epistemological claims to 'truth' about how we know 'truth' (Burr, 2003; Ramazanoglu with Holland, 2002; Worrall, 1990). Discourse analysis does not seek to find out about a single 'reality' (Gill, 2000). This includes whether programmes 'work'. Therefore, classic experimental research designs and the random allocation of subjects to experimental and control groups discussed in chapter two are of little significance to discourse analysis. Instead, discourse analysis is interested in the organisation, content and investments of discourses within texts (Gill, 2000; see also Burton and Carlen, 1979). Texts can be 'printed, visual, oral or auditory' (Denzin,

²⁷ See Ramazanoglu with Holland (2002) about differing epistemologies.

1995:52). This includes conversations and written material like interview transcripts (Gill, 2000).

Foucault (1981) argued that the *meaning* of texts does not originate within the individual who spoke or wrote the texts. He suggested that meaning derives from discourse. As discussed in chapter three, Foucault (1989) considered that discourses are bodies of knowledge; groupings of statements that derive historically and institutionally from subject disciplines such as biology and psychology (see also Burton and Carlen, 1979). By displacing speakers and authors as the source of meaning of texts, understanding is sought from within discourse (Foucault, 1981, 1989). In this way, Derrida (1970:249, 1978:280) suggests ‘everything became discourse’.

Foucault (1981, 1989) did not completely deny the existence of the speaker and author of texts (including talk). He indicated that when individuals reconstruct their experiences they do so from within the historical and institutional confines of discourses. For Foucault it was about tracing and tracking the historical and institutional meanings of propositions and statements, which discourses comprise. He (1981, 1989:51) argues that discourses can be circulated in a specific and manipulative fashion by ‘institutional sites’. He suggests these sites are where discourses gain and regain legitimacy and influence. Understanding the context and historical development of these sites, particularly in relation to discourses, is then important.

The over-arching ‘institutional site’ of my research where the DVP operated was the *National Probation Service* (NPS) (and a local NGO)²⁸. Within this site, chapters one and two discussed the institutional domains of the assessment, case management and programme (see Chapman and Hough, 1998). Chapter three elaborated upon men’s (offenders’) talk as another domain, albeit not institutional, where discourses might be produced and reproduced. This thesis considers the use and interplay of discourses in these domains.

²⁸ The focus of my research is on the NPS. The local NGO comprised of few workers, and as such, little data was gathered from here.

4.3 The Locale of the Study and the Participants in the Research

The specific probation area and NGO was chosen because I was familiar with the probation area and non-government agency, their practices, and some of their practitioners as I had been a Probation Volunteer. I had also carried out a small-scale piece of research on their DVP for my MSc (see Ballantyne, 2001). This assisted in negotiating access, which was formally gained by submitting a research proposal to senior management in both organisations, followed by meetings with them to discuss the proposed study. Once access was agreed, senior representatives from each organisation signed a research agreement (stating the anonymous nature of the organisations and participants in the research, and the confidentiality of their responses, see below).

As part of the original evaluation, I wanted to carry out an in-depth study (see the Introduction to the thesis). This involved following a group of men post-sentence from assessment to commencement and completion of the DVP. I started the one-year phase of gathering data towards the end of my first year of the PhD: this was when a group of men were being assessed to attend the next DVP. The men who took part in the study were those who the case managers had selected and programme workers assessed as suitable to attend the DVP. Eleven men started the DVP. They were aged between 20 and 55, with over one-third unemployed. Ten of the eleven men were white (and described themselves as such); one was Indian. Most men had previous convictions ranging from motoring offences, theft, criminal damage, drunk and disorderly, public order offences, and violence. Most of them had had previous contact with the criminal justice system including the probation and prison services. All men had a history of violence against their partners or ex-partners. Only two of them had been previously convicted for these offences.

As mentioned before, the probation area provided the route for court-mandated men to attend the programme and the non-government agency provided the contact for men to 'self-refer' to the intervention. Eight men were court-mandated via a Community Rehabilitation Order to attend the DVP.²⁹ These orders were linked to convictions for

²⁹ A Community Rehabilitation Order was previously known as a Probation Order (see Home Office, 2000c).

domestic violence acts variously categorised from public order offences and common assault, to assault occasioning actual bodily harm. The remaining three men were attending the programme ‘voluntarily’ via referral from the NGO. The eight court-ordered men were subsequently assigned case managers to supervise them throughout their orders. There were initially six case managers involved in the research, who were all interviewed.³⁰ A further four case managers were later included in the study. This was because of the transfer of some of the men from case manager to case manager throughout the course of the research. All case managers completed questionnaires of both a qualitative and quantitative nature (see section 4.5.1 below). Other practitioners, who were interviewed, include two programme workers (one working for the probation area and one for the NGO), another worker within the non-government agency, and one additional practitioner working within the probation area. For the reason of anonymity specific ‘job titles’ are not provided for some of these workers. Fourteen practitioners in total were involved during the course of the research, and they were included in the study because of their specific roles in relation to the men, the programme and their connections to the domains of case management and assessment. The next section discusses the ethical issues pertinent to my study as well as detailing how I safeguarded my own safety when gathering the data.

4.4 Ethical Issues and Researcher’s Safety

As a researcher I am guided by the *Codes of Ethics* produced by the British Society of Criminology (see BSC, 2003), British Sociological Association and the Economic and Social Research Council (see Hornsby-Smith, 1993). During the course of the research, I was careful not to impose any greater demands upon the organisations taking part in my study than necessary. Additionally, individuals (and organisations) were given detailed information about the research via a pamphlet I administered before gathering data. This pamphlet stated what the study was about, why it was being undertaken, including who was funding it, and how the findings from the research were to be disseminated. It also discussed details of how subjects could consent to the research, what their involvement within the study entailed, and issues of anonymity and confidentiality (see BSC, 2003).

³⁰ One case manager supervised two men. Additionally, one man had not been seeing a case manager. He was thus in the process of having breach proceeding brought against him (see Home Office, 2002a). There was no case manager, as such, to interview.

Participants who take part in research have a right to confidentiality and anonymity. Any possible encroachment of these rights must be clearly explained to those involved in the study (BSC, 2003). The offenders who took part in my study were informed about the confidentiality of their responses. They were made aware that their right to this would be infringed if they were thought to pose a serious risk of harm to themselves or others. The study pamphlet, and the subsequently administered research agreement, which all participants (including practitioners) signed, documented this. If men are told about this infringement on their rights to confidentiality, they may restrict their accounts of violence. This is because they may fear reprisals for admitting to previously unconfessed serious acts of violent behaviours. This constraint on men's talk may then appear to skew the findings (see also Bennett and Wright, 1984). Yet, the safety of women and children in my research was important (see also Scully, 1990).

The theoretical premise of discourse analysis contests any claims to 'absolute truths' (see Strinati, 1992:3; see also Burr, 2003) and as such it is not so concerned with the veracity of the data. Discourse analysis does not seek to find out about what actually happened (Burr, 2003; Gill, 2000; see also Worrall, 1990). As discussed in chapter two, this is important to evaluative research because such studies claim to measure the extent of men's violence pre- and post-programmes in order to ascertain change and thus whether programmes 'work'. My study does not seek to establish the extent of men's violent behaviours. In this sense, my findings will not be skewed by what might be perceived in evaluative studies as men's 'distorted' accounts of violence (i.e. 'untruths'). As a discourse analysis, my research is focused on the discourses within texts (see Burton and Carlen, 1979; Gill, 2000; see also section 4.7.1 below).

I should therefore address my possible influence in the production of discourses in interviews with violent men.³¹ Writers suggest that those who carry out discourse analysis do not consider this (see Burr, 2003). Researchers who undertake such research, particularly from a Foucauldian perspective, consider that discourses are constructed and reproduced within historical and institutional domains and thus do not

³¹ This is despite asking questions in interviews to gather data for what was originally an evaluative study (see section 4.5.2 below).

originate within individual speakers or writers (see Foucault, 1981, 1989). As mentioned, Foucault (1981, 1989) suggests that individuals talk from within the narrow historical and institutional confines of discourses. The violent men might consider me as part of the institutional context of the probation service especially since I informed them of their limited confidentiality in respect of serious risks of harm they may present (see above). Discourse analysis considers the investments for individuals to use discourses in different domains (Gill, 2000; Hollway, 1998). Men may use discourse in interviews to present a positive image of the 'self' by not talking about serious acts of violence. Whilst men *may* have done this, they also used discourse to talk about abusive behaviours in ways that projected a negative view of the 'self' without talking about serious acts of violence.

Illustrating these discourses in men's accounts of violence in my thesis can be difficult. Men often told similar stories of violent acts committed yet their accounts were often unique because of the particular contexts in which their abuse happened. Presenting details about the specific settings in which violence occurred might unnecessarily expose the identity of the man telling the story. As a researcher, I have to protect the identity of research participants where appropriate (BSC, 2003). For this reason, it was not always possible for me to present fully men's accounts of violence (see also section 4.6 below).

In relation to my own personal safety when gathering data from the violent men, my role as observer in the group-work sessions was similar to the 'passive participant observer' role described by Schwartz and Schwartz (1955:348) where little interaction between those observed takes place (see O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994 for different types of observer roles). My close proximity to the violent men, in terms of observing them in 'treatment' and interviewing them, raises concerns about researcher's safety in the process of carrying out field research. As a former probation service officer and probation volunteer, I have undertaken in-house training with three separate probation services. This training advised practitioners of the potential dangers of working with offenders (e.g. about the risk of abuse to staff). This training and my practical experience enhanced my personal safety, especially during the face-to-face interviews with violent men in my study, since much of my previous work with the

probation service involved working with offenders on a semi-structured one-to-one basis.

Moreover, all contacts with violent men were made within the physical context of the organisations involved in the research. The health and safety rules that apply to members of staff were also relevant to me. I informed practitioners about when, where, and who I was interviewing. I also indicated approximately how long the interviews might take. When I had completed my interview and visually witnessed the offender leave the premises of the probation offices, I returned to my point of contact, the officer who was aware of my interviewing, and finalised the meeting this way. For added safety, there were probation practitioners in close proximity to the interviewing room. In this room, I could activate an alarm button in the event of a potential threatening incident. To enhance my own personal safety, and linked to the concept of a ‘passive participant observer’ discussed above, I did not disclose my home address or any other details about my social and personal life to the violent men. With all this in mind, I set about gathering my data. The following section discusses how I did this.

4.5 Methods of Gathering the Data

Data was gathered over the course of one year using a variety of methods. These included semi-structured in-depth interviews with men and practitioners, as well as questionnaires, observations of group-work sessions, and analysis of the programme manual and case files. This data was gathered with the aim of carrying out an evaluation. Many of the research methods I used could and did have more than one purpose. My data was therefore adaptable. The following section highlights how data designed for one purpose was used for another. It illustrates how some of the data was used in my revised study of a discourse analysis. It considers how the use of different sources to gather data allowed me to analyse the deployment of discourses in the varying domains (assessment, case management, programme, men’s talk). The following section 4.6 considers the data that was excluded from my study and the reasons for this.

4.5.1 Questionnaires

All practitioners and violent men completed a pre-interview questionnaire. This consisted of mainly closed questions that asked for background information. Men were asked about demographic characteristics, previous convictions and histories of domestic violence, including details of current incidences. Case managers were asked questions about the assessment tools, convictions the violent men received and the subsequent court orders given. Programme workers provided data relating to the assessment of men for the DVP, the format of the groups and length of the programme. These pre-interview questionnaires provided me with a base of knowledge to develop the interview questions.

Men also completed standardised periodic qualitative and quantitative questionnaires during the year long-phase of gathering data. These questionnaires allowed for open and closed responses, administered three months, six months and twelve months into the programme. Questionnaires were administered at these intervals to fall in-line with the key changes to the frequency of men's contact with case managers during their court orders. This frequency of contact is usually weekly for the first three months of an order, fortnightly for the next three months, and then monthly for a further six months (see Home Office, 2002a). The attrition rate of men over the course of the research meant that the first questionnaire was completed by eleven men, the second by eight and the third by seven men. These questionnaires collated information about contacts the offenders had with practitioners such as case managers.

Every three months case managers were also sent a questionnaire. Intervals of three months were considered appropriate for ease of the practitioners' to draw on recent recollections of their individual sessions with offenders. The questionnaire asked open and closed questions about contacts with offenders. The questionnaires discussed in this section were used in my study, despite gathering data for an evaluation, because they were relevant to the revised aim of the research (about analysing the ways in which the 'treatment' of intimately violent men is constructed).

4.5.2 Interviews

One of the objectives of my revised research was to consider the use of discourses by men and practitioners. In-depth semi-structured interviews were carried out with men

on the programme. This was done at three intervals. These time-periods were relevant in the context of what was originally an evaluative study (see for example Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Whilst this three-stage approach to interviewing research subjects *might not* be fundamental in discourse analysis, the use of qualitative research methods is thought to be (see Burr, 2003). I discuss the reasons for this in the next section 4.6. In the following chapters, I also consider how the different interview stages contributed positively to the final analysis.

The interviews with the men on the programme took place as follows:

- (i) at the beginning of the programme, which covers before programme sessions commenced, after the introductory session, and could include up to the fourth day of the week of sessions (see below for details of the programme);
- (ii) six months into the programme; and
- (iii) after the end of the programme.

Interviews were concerned with men's violent behaviours, their experiences of the programme, as well as their responses to supervision sessions with case managers. Appendix A provides a 'model' interview guide of the core questions that were asked during interviews.³² The number of men interviewed pre-, mid- and post-intervention fell from ten (one man did not want to be interviewed at the initial stage), to eight, to seven, respectively. Twenty-five interviews with offenders were undertaken. These interviews varied in length from 30 to 90 minutes.

Ten in-depth semi-structured interviews were also carried out with practitioners (six case managers, two programme workers, and a worker from the probation area and another from the NGO). These interviews considered practitioners' experiences of, and responses to the relevant criminal justice interventions with which they were associated. Interviews with case managers were about their supervision of offenders. Programme

³² The guide is a 'model'. This is because there were three different interview guides for men: one for first interviews, one for second interviews and one for third interviews (albeit, the guide for second and third interviews was similar). For ease of reading, the core questions from each of these interview guides were amalgamated to form the 'model' guide in Appendix A.

workers talked about the implementation and design of the perpetrator programme. Appendix B provides a ‘model’ interview guide that was used during these interviews.³³ Practitioner interviews averaged about one hour.

Notwithstanding the interview guides, interviews were conducted through a ‘guided conversation’ that allowed individuals to talk in their own time, using their ‘own’ terminology (Lofland, 1971:76; see Dobash and Dobash, 1979; see also Bennett and Wright, 1984; Wright and Decker, 1994). In this sense, interviews were semi-structured. This was useful to analyse discourse because words and phrases can signify the use of a discourse. For example, a discourse of risk is about the assessment, management and reduction of risks of harm and re-offending. The use of words and phrases in interviewees’ accounts such as ‘less likely to offend’ or ‘walk away’ and ‘kicking off’ are integral to the deployment of this discourse.

4.5.3 Observing the Programme

Another objective of my revised study was to analyse the use of discourses deployed by men and practitioners within the programme domain. I drew these from their work and their responses during the programme. I had directly observed the group work sessions of the DVP. The programme veered slightly from its intended format due to staff illness. The programme was one year in duration rather than eight months. It was split into phases that consisted of:

- (i) one introductory session of just under two hours; followed by
- (ii) one week of sessions amounting to twenty-three hours in actual group-work; then
- (iii) three sessions occurring just over the course of one week, equating to five hours (after this there was a temporary suspension of three months due to staff illness); and then
- (iv) weekly sessions for six weeks, amounting to just over ten hours; and finally

³³ This guide is a ‘model’ because it amalgamates the core questions that were asked to practitioners such as case managers and programme workers.

- (v) five monthly sessions with men in group-work, totalling eight hours (one monthly session was cancelled due to staff illness).

The total number of hours observing the group-work sessions was forty-eight.³⁴ Due to my own temporary illness, I had not directly observed one-and-a-half sessions. One of these sessions was video-recorded by the programme workers. I subsequently observed and wrote notes about the session via this video recording. I also photocopied the notes that one of the programme workers recorded during both missed sessions (programme workers do this for all sessions). In these notes were details of the sessions, as well as men's responses to the exercises in the group work.³⁵ My own note taking during the group-work sessions recorded men's and practitioners' talk.

4.5.4 The Programme Manual

I used the programme manual in my revised study to facilitate preliminary analysis of the deployment of discourses during the intervention. I had obtained my own copy of the manual from the organisations. I subsequently read it alongside the observational notes I had made about group-work sessions. By analysing the programme manual and observational notes this way, a disjuncture was detected between the stated aim of the programme and the exercises played out in practice. The domestic violence programme in my study unofficially (the programme is not accredited) stated that it aimed to end men's violence. It subscribed to a discourse of rehabilitation. Some of the material that was written in the manual and that was carried out in group-work sessions endorsed dominant organisational and official risk discourse and the rhetoric of risk assessment, management and reduction. Exercises were aimed at showing men how to assess, manage and reduce their risks of violence (see chapter five) *and* attempted to change their attitudes and behaviours so that men end their violence (see chapter six). Analysing the programme manual and observing the programme were therefore relevant

³⁴ Eighteen of the twenty-one core sessions were delivered as well as five of the six monthly relapse sessions. Core sessions that were excluded were about sexual abuse in domestic violence relationships, the effect of domestic abuse on children and the skill of negotiation. The monthly relapse sessions are not included in the DVP manual. Programme workers included specific sessions here relating to the effect of domestic violence on children and relapse prevention sessions about strategies for avoiding violence, accepting blame and responsibility for abuse, and future action plans.

³⁵ I have previously directly observed these sessions in practice but with another group of men, which I carried out for my MSc (see Ballantyne, 2001). I was thus aware of the particular exercises carried out and materials used in the missed sessions.

to understanding how the ‘treatment’ of intimately violent men is constructed. The information extracted from the case files of the men were also analysed for discourses. The next section discusses this.

4.5.5 The Case Files of the Men

One of the revised research objectives was to explore the deployment of discourses in the official and unofficial assessment tools that were used to assess offenders. The case files contained details of how the men were assessed. This included information about:

- (i) men’s violent incidents highlighting the ‘factors’ identified as integral to the abuse (i.e. their criminogenic needs and dynamic risk ‘factors’, see McGuire, 2000).
- (ii) the proposed plans of intervention to ‘treat’ men’s needs and risks.

Case file analysis was considered useful in understanding the ‘treatment’ of intimately violent men. This is despite three out of the eight court-mandated men’s files did not contain a completed Offender Assessment System (OASys). These files all contained a Pre-Sentence Report (PSR), which like the full version of OASys, identifies, albeit in a different format, men’s needs and risks (see Home Office, 2002a, 2002b). Men were aware via the research agreement they signed, that as part of the study their case files would be accessed.

4.5.6 Gathering the Data and Objectives of the Research

The different methods facilitated gathering data from the various domains (assessment, case management, programme, men’s talk). Table 4.1 below summarises the methods of gathering the data and how they primarily connect, although not exclusively, with achieving the research objectives.

Table 4.1 Carrying out the Objectives of the Research

<i>Methods</i>	<i>Objectives To Analyse Discourses Deployed in the Domains of:</i>			
	Assessment	Case Management	Programme	Men's Talk
Case File (analysis)	*			
Questionnaires		*		
Interviews		*		*
Observations			*	
Programme Manual (analysis)			*	

Even though the case file analysis was the predominant mode of gathering data about the use of discourses in the domain of the assessment, data was also drawn from interviews, particularly those of practitioners. Table 4.1 above suggests that the (periodic) questionnaires completed by men and practitioners are camped under the domain of case management. This is because these questionnaires focused on the supervision of men. Furthermore, although I discussed details of the programme with men in the interviews, I have categorised their talk in interviews as men's talk (as opposed to programme talk). This is because men's experiences of the programme were discussed in the interviews and outside the domain of the programme. The above Table 4.1 indicates that programme talk, which is about the use of discourses *during* the actual intervention, was drawn from the observations and the programme manual.

4.6 Data Gathered but not Analysed in the Study

Some of the data gathered was not used in the final thesis for two reasons. Firstly, it was part of the original evaluative research design and was not deemed appropriate for my revised study of a discourse analysis. Secondly, some data was not used for ethical reasons. I shall first consider the data that was not deemed useful in a discourse analysis approach. A series of questionnaires that were given to men to complete at the same time as their interviews were not analysed. This is because these questionnaires were specifically designed, drawing on the research methods used in existing evaluations, to measure men's attitudes and behaviours. Other researchers have

administered similar questionnaires pre- and post-programme (in my case also during the programme) to measure changes in attitudes and incidences related to domestic violence behaviours to ultimately assess whether programmes ‘work’ in terms of reducing or ending men’s violence (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 1995, 1996a, 2000). My change in focus from an evaluation to a discourse analysis subsequently altered the aim and objectives of the study. As suggested, discourse analysis does not seek to measure changes in attitudes or the extent of men’s violent behaviours (see Burr, 2003; Gill, 2000). Therefore, these questionnaires were excluded from my study because they had no relevance to the revised aim of the research (about analysing the ways in which the ‘treatment’ of intimately violent men is constructed).³⁶

These questionnaires consisted of closed questions and boxes that could be ticked. They were not particularly conducive to analysing discourse. This is because discourse analysis is ‘theoretical work which engages in a continuous deconstruction of a discourse’ (Burton and Carlen, 1979:128). According to Foucault (1989), discourses comprise of statements. The research methods listed in the above section (e.g. interviews, observations) were used to analyse discourse, despite gathering data for an evaluation, because they allowed individuals to speak in their own time using their ‘own’ words to express their experiences using discourse *and* they were relevant to the revised aim of the research. This does not mean that I excluded other quantitative data such as that gathered by the pre-interview questionnaires and parts of the periodic questionnaires (see section 4.5.1 above). As suggested, this data was included because it considered the ‘treatment’ of violent men, which is relevant to the revised study. The findings from these questionnaires are used mainly within the text to discuss details of the assessment, supervision sessions, the programme and violent men.³⁷ In doing so, they also serve to support findings from interview data.

Data was also not used for ethical reasons. This data included all that was gathered from the female partners and ex-partners of the violent men in my study (i.e. the series

³⁶ Probation and the women’s service were made aware of the findings from these questionnaires as this formed part of my access agreement. The offenders were informed that this would happen.

³⁷ This is similarly the case where I draw on the programme manual and interview data from programme workers to outline, in the text, details of the DVP in my study, such as the content of sessions or the assessment process (see also Appendices C and D).

of questionnaires that sought to measure changes in attitudes and incidences related to domestic violence, pre-interview questionnaire and interview data). In addition, the pre-interview questionnaire and much of the interview data from the women's support worker was excluded. As part of the evaluative study, I had gathered data from partners and ex-partners because authors were critical of research that relied on men's own self-reports of abusive behaviours to assess whether they had reduced/ended their violence. They argued that since offenders may deny the extent of their abuse, then appropriate measures of men's violence are reports from female partners and ex-partners (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Mullender and Burton, 2000; Tolman and Bennett, 1990). The women's support service facilitated my access to these women. At first, almost half of the women completed the first of three questionnaires (these were similar to the men's). Only two women were willing to be interviewed though.

I grew concerned about gathering information from *both* violent men and the women they had abused or were continuing to abuse. This is because the women who I spoke to asked me if I knew anything about their partners' or ex-partners' progress on the DVP. Similarly, a few men also enquired quite nonchalantly into their partners' or ex-partners' involvement in the study. This placed me in a difficult and uncomfortable position because I was unable to answer their questions. The research agreements, which both men and women signed, assured them that their responses were confidential and anonymous (albeit within limits, see above section 4.4).³⁸ Given the nature of domestic violence relationships, where men use a number of tactics to control women (see Pence and Paymar, 1993 and chapter two), the victim's participation in the study may provide another source of conflict and possible violence in the relationship. For these reasons, I decided that my role as a researcher gathering data from the perpetrator *and* the victim placed the victim in too much of a vulnerable and dangerous position (see also Harne, 2005).

Moreover, I began to question how I could safely present women's stories of abuse. There were a small number of participants involved in my research and this often-generated specific data. For instance, whilst the interviews with the two women

³⁸ I drew women's attention to the NGO and the women's support service as to where they might be able to acquire the information that they sought.

suggested that they experienced similar types of abuse, their narratives were often unique because of the particular settings in which incidences occurred. The presentation of such data in the thesis may unnecessarily expose the identity of these women, and provide an additional source of conflict between them and their abusive partners or ex-partners (see Harne, 2005).³⁹ As mentioned, I had to protect the anonymity of participants in my study and ensure that they were not badly affected by my research (see BSC, 2003). I therefore withdrew from gathering further data from women and excluded their data that I had from my study.

Much of the data from the women's support worker in the NGO was also excluded from the thesis. This is also due to ethical considerations. This worker talked about particular female partners and ex-partners of men on the programme in terms of their violent situations and the role of the women's support service. I had to be doubly careful about presenting verbatim data from this worker because of their exclusive role in relation to women's support and these women (who, along with the worker, I did not want to expose). Thus to maintain anonymity, confidentiality and the safety of the practitioner, women and her children much of this data was omitted (see BSC, 2003).

4.7 Managing and Analysing the Data

4.7.1 The Conceptual Framework

My conceptual framework, discussed in the last chapter, drives the analysis of the data. This framework rests primarily on a concept of a 'self' that is unfixed and unknowable (see Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999). This is in contrast to literature that suggests the 'self' is fixed and knowable (see Goffman, 1968, 1971, 1972; Scott and Lyman, 1968; Sykes and Matza, 1957). My work concurs somewhat with Scott and Lyman's (1968) and Goffman's (1968, 1971) arguments about individuals providing positive accounts of undesirable behaviours to make their misdemeanours acceptable to others and to themselves (see also Sykes and Matza, 1957). The thesis draws on Hollway's (1998) suggestion that there are investments for individuals to do this. As Goffman (1968, 1971) indicates it is to avoid damaging the perception of the 'self'. I do not consider that researchers know why individuals conduct the 'self' in this way; they can only

³⁹ Harne (2005) used a separate sample of abused women who were unconnected to the violent men in her study to compare men and women's narratives of violence.

make suggestions about this (see Burr, 2003). Many discourse analysis perspectives reject the realist idea that individuals use language to describe a 'real' world of actual lives and experiences (Gill, 2000).⁴⁰ As Plummer (1995:168) states in his work on story telling 'the lived life' is 'unknown and unknowable'.

Discourse analysis is not concerned with analysing language to find out about a single 'reality' that occurred at a particular time (Gill, 2000). This is because for discourse analysis the 'reality' represented may not exist outside of the text. The representation of realities may only exist within the use of language and discourses (Gill, 2000; see Burr, 2003; Burton and Carlen, 1979; see also Derrida, 1974). The object of discourse analysis is to deconstruct language and discourses in order to seek meaning (Gill, 2000; see Foucault, 1989). This thesis rests on the premise that individuals use talk knowingly or unknowingly. In doing this, they position themselves (Hollway, 1998), which Davies and Harre (1990:48, 1999:37) call 'reflexive positioning' in discourses because of the investments this serves for them (Hollway, 1998). My study analyses talk for discourses and elaborates upon the investments of positioning in different discourses.

Discourse analysis is used in a variety of ways (Gill, 2000; see for example Burr, 2003). In terms of a Foucauldian perspective, Foucault's (1989) work moves beyond the mainstream linguistic and psychological discourse analysis of texts, to consider the wider historical, socio-political and institutional contexts in which statements are used. This includes an understanding of the links that may exist between speakers and listeners, and authors and readers (Mills, 1997; see also Burr, 2003). Some uses of discourse analysis suggest the freedom of the author and speaker in deploying discourses (Burr, 2003), whereas Foucault (1981, 1989:51) discusses the limits of individuals in using discourses, particularly in 'institutional sites'. With this in mind, my study analyses discourses according to the institutional site in which they were deployed, as well as within men's talk. I refer to all these sites as domains.

Discourse analysis makes sense of the contradictory nature of texts (Gill, 2000; see more about this in chapter three). Making sense of accounts is important to my

⁴⁰ See Burr (2003) for the varying stances within realism that links a 'reality' with the use of language.

analytical approach. I use the concept of 'plausible' to assist here. Talk is plausible when accounts appear to make subjective sense to the speaker (see Phoenix, 1997, 1999). Related to this is the acceptability of the account. Acceptable explanations are those that seem accepted by the listeners (see Scott and Lyman, 1968). Narratives can be plausible (to the teller) and acceptable (to the listener), and plausible (to the teller) but not acceptable (to the listener). In terms of analysing my data, Foucault (1989) provided much of the grounding for how I carried this out. His notion of deconstructing discourses as bodies of knowledge is integral to my process of analysis. The following sections explain this further, but first I need to discuss how I set about managing my data using computer software.

4.7.2 Using Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software: NVivo 2

I transcribed my interview tapes, and typed up notes from observations and data obtained from case files. I imported this data into NVivo 2: a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). I re-familiarised myself with my data manually at first by reading the interview transcripts and studying field notes. During this process, I began to note preliminary re-occurring themes (see Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). I also wrote memos, which are notes about initial concepts, and drew diagrams that illustrated preliminary relationships between concepts (see Strauss and Corbin, 1998). This was beneficial because setting-up and applying a developing coding frame in NVivo can be problematic if data has to subsequently be un-coded and re-coded in light of the final coding frame(s) (although this happened to some degree). I then began to use NVivo 2. This computer software facilitates the process of managing data by sorting (as per the coding frames), retrieving and presenting it for analysis (see Gibbs, 2002). The next section considers the strategy of coding the data.

4.7.3 A Strategy for Coding the Data

Coding identifies and records text to illustrate themes in the data (Gibbs, 2002). Gill (2000:179) suggests that coding 'is a way of organising the categories of interest'. In an article on discourse analysis, she suggests that researchers use various strategies to code data. In considering how to carry out a Foucauldian discourse analysis, authors often oversimplify or neglect the coding process (see Burr, 2003; Gill, 2000; Willig, 2001). For this reason, I have borrowed my strategy of how I coded the data. I used the *basis* of Strauss' and Corbin's (1998) progressive coding framework of open, axial and

selective coding. Open coding begins to identify concepts and categories. Axial coding suggests how categories relate to sub-categories and selective coding integrates categories (see also Strauss, 1987). It is as Strauss and Corbin (1998:101) suggest 'a dynamic and fluid process' of coding that is broken down into a series of steps in order to understand the rationale of the researchers' analysis of the data. In a sense then, each stage builds on the previous albeit not necessarily in a linear fashion. As Strauss and Corbin (1998) warn that the researcher should not be *so* concerned to adhere to the rigid structure that their framework suggests, particularly during axial coding (see below). Rather they argue that relationships noted in the data are complex, overlapping and multi-faceted (and data does not often 'fit' neatly into categories, as will be seen with the coding of my data).⁴¹ It is an understanding of these relationships Strauss and Corbin (1998) argue that facilitate researchers' plausible and interesting explanations of the phenomena studied. Their framework is therefore a strategy to assist the researcher with this.

Adopted wholeheartedly, this approach to analysing data is different to discourse analysis because Strauss and Corbin (1998) consider their approach as the premise for constructing theory *purely* from the data. However, like other researchers (see Bryman and Burgess, 1994), I used their framework as a way to systematically code data and organise categories (see Gill, 2000). Theory does not solely derive from data; rather it influences the process of analysis (Bottoms, 2000; see also Gibbs, 2002; Jupp, 1989). My own analysis of the data involved a complex process that traversed the data and the literature (see also Skinner, 2005). The following sections seek to unravel this complex process of data analysis. They tell a linear narrative that has been purposefully simplified to assist the readers' understanding. The next section details how the initial themes developed into key concepts and categories. For reasons of space and clarity only examples of the coding frames and subsequent tables are explained here, the rest are detailed in the appendices.

⁴¹ As Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest coding seeks to classify themes. Individuals' statements can contain more than one theme, sometimes several. At times it was incredibly difficult to sort and split men's contradictory narratives of violence in my study. It helped in terms of my own analysis that I had marked out the difference, in the last chapter, between accounts that excuse behaviours and those that justify it (i.e. the former does not accept responsibility whereas the latter does, see Hearn, 1998a).

4.7.4 Identifying Key Concepts 1: A Thematic Review of ‘Talk About Violence’

I had gathered data from practitioners, violent men, case files, the DVP manual and observations of the programme, about domestic violence behaviours and interventions to ‘treat’ intimately violent offenders. These texts were systematically coded in order to understand the data (see Gibbs, 2002), and explore whether and how discourses were being used, which were dominant, and to make sense of the contradictions therein.

During the initial process of *open coding*, I had identified the category ‘talk about violence’. Open coding begins to identify key properties and dimensions of (concepts and) categories. Properties, for example, demarcate and attach meaning to the category. Dimensions illustrate how the category varies (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). In the category ‘talk about violence’, the data is linked to theory (see Bottoms, 2000). I had noted statements about the role of alcohol, the impact of an individual’s upbringing, the rewards of violence, and the rights of men to perpetrate violence against women. Drawing on the literature, these statements relate to particular camps of criminological theory. For example, the perceived link between alcohol and criminal behaviours are part of theories related to individual positivism, whereas upbringing and crime are more akin to sociological positivism. The gains of offending link to rational choice theory and classicism, whereas men’s perceived right to commit intimate violence are problematised by feminist analysis. I have similarly linked feminist theorising with classicism. The next paragraph explains more about this (see also chapter three).

The literature classified as positivist in my research primarily views criminality as caused by ‘factors’ outside an offender’s control. Individual positivism subscribes to the notion that offending behaviours are due to an individual’s pathological make-up such as dependency on alcohol whereas sociological positivism suggests that it is societal and environmental ‘factors’, that impact for instance upon an individual’s upbringing, that are integral to understanding criminality (see Ferri, 1996; see also Durkheim, 1996). Classicism and feminist explanations reviewed in this thesis (particularly theorising about violence against women) consider that offenders *chose* to commit crimes. Classicism suggests that offenders rationally weigh up the risks and rewards of criminal behaviours in a decision-making process (see Clarke, 1980; Cornish and Clarke, 1986). In a similar vein, some feminists argue that men’s abuse is used intentionally to control women (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). In

my study then, I considered that an offender could talk about intimate violence in a way that did not accept the ‘self’ as responsible for violence (positivism) or accepted the ‘self’ as responsible for violence (classicism).

The category ‘talk about violence’ formed the basis for the Initial Coding Frame (1). Part of this coding frame is presented below to illustrate some examples of how men (in their assessment, interviews and during the programme) and some practitioners talked about violence.

Table 4.2 Excerpt of The Initial Coding Frame (1)

Category	Property (Theorising)	Dimension
Talk About Violence	Positivist/Individual	Alcohol Anger Loss of Control Mental Health
	Classicism/Rational Choice	Risks and Rewards Opportunity Guilt

Some accounts implied the role of alcohol, anger, loss of control, and mental health in violent behaviours. These ‘factors’ formed the key dimensions of this category and they were branched under the property of positivist/individual. Statements that suggested violent behaviours were rationally chosen were camped under the property of classicism/rational choice and the dimension of risks and rewards. Some talk implied that violence was committed because of opportunities (such as living with a partner). This is also branched under classicism/rational choice. So is the dimension of guilt. This indicates talk that accepts some responsibility *and possibly* blame for abusive behaviours (as opposed to generally feeling ‘guilty’).

Appendix C illustrates the other properties and dimensions of the category ‘talk about violence’. These include the property of positivist/sociological and the dimensions of cycle of violence/upbringing and stress. It also details the themes related to feminist analysis such as jealousy, intimidation, isolation, male privilege, victim blaming, repetition of violence and violence as private. The appendix discusses the meaning of these themes. It also explains the exclusion of others. A further Table in Appendix C illustrates where themes were mentioned (e.g. case files, interviews, programme). As

Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest, I used open coding to understand the data initially. As I progressed analysing the data in more depth, I added an additional coding frame. Both coding frames were used to produce the final analysis as will be seen when I discuss selective coding below. The next section uses another category identified within the data, that of 'talk about interventions', to illustrate the additional Coding Frame 2.

4.7.5 Identifying Key Concepts 2: A Thematic Review of 'Talk About Interventions'

The next stage was *axial coding*. Axial coding develops categories in terms of connecting properties and dimensions (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Strauss and Corbin (1998:129) suggest researchers use a paradigm to consider the data in terms of 'conditions, actions/interactions and consequences'. I have adapted this because it is too linear in terms of signifying causes and effects, as well as being too rigid. For instance, Strauss and Corbin (1998) imply the possibility of an 'actual' link between actions/interactions and 'actual' consequences. In terms of my research, talk about change does not necessarily indicate that a man has 'actually' changed. A man who suggests he accepts blame for violence does not mean he has 'actually' ended his abuse. As discussed above, Strauss and Corbin (1998) advise the researcher not to be overly concerned about rigidly classifying data as a condition, action/interaction and consequence but to understand where the data 'fits' in terms of the network of relationships that are unfolding within the analysis. Thus, whilst I continued to use the basis of their progressive coding framework as a strategy to code data systematically, I have adapted it to understand more about the emerging relationships within the data.

During this stage of data analysis, I developed categories further by understanding their properties, dimensions and further dimensions. I had identified the category of 'talk about interventions' and it laid the foundation for Coding Frame (2). Part of this coding frame is presented below to illustrate some examples of how practitioners and men talked about interventions.

Table 4.3 Excerpt from Coding Frame (2)

Category	Property	Dimension	Further Dimensions	
Talk About Interventions	Case Management	Demands (prioritised by risk management)	PSRs, Enforcement, High-Risk Offenders	Limited Resources (e.g. staff), Session Time, Funding
	Programme	Changes (men's thoughts about women in relationships)	Accept Blame/Responsibility for Violence	Change in Attitudes about Women, Belief in Change/Wants Help, Changes Ongoing, At Risk of Abuse, Group Discussions /Interactions, Role-Plays

This category has three properties: assessment, case management and the programme. The following explains the intervention of case management. The first dimension given in the table is demands. These are the pressures placed upon case managers (from the courts, the government and the offenders). These are writing pre-sentence reports (PSRs), enforcing orders and monitoring high-risk offenders. They are listed in the fourth column of Table 4.3 above. The further dimensions of these demands are noted in the last column. These suggest that writing reports, enforcing orders and contacts with high-risk offenders can affect or are affected by limited resources; impinge upon the time allocated to supervision sessions; and impact upon funding for the probation area. Practitioners prioritised these demands in accordance with managing offender risk. For example, PSRs are a key tool for assessing and managing risks presented by offenders (see chapter five).

The other intervention detailed in the above Table 4.3 is the programme. Drawing on the data, this intervention was about changes. The example of changes I will discuss here is men's thoughts about women in relationships. In this category, talk was about accepting blame *and/or* responsibility for violence. This is illustrated by the further dimensions listed in the last column of the Table 4.3 above. Men talked about accepting blame/responsibility in ways that illustrated they were changing their attitudes about women, they believed in changing themselves, they wanted the help to change (via the

programme), and that the changes they needed to make were ongoing.⁴² In mentioning the latter, men talked about their risk of abuse. In doing so, they imply accepting some blame/responsibility for violence.⁴³ Other dimensions listed in the last column of the Table 4.3 above are group discussions/interactions and role-plays. Men's talk and programme talk suggested that these assisted men in accepting blame and/or responsibility for abusive behaviours (see chapter six).

The key tasks of case managers (such as making contacts with offenders, assessing/managing offender risk) and the general division of probation practices (e.g. the assessment, the programme) are other aspects talked about concerning the intervention of case management. Talk about risk management and reduction strategies such as 'time-outs' and 'self-talk' to manage/reduce violence are symbolic of other changes related to the programme. For further details about these themes, and the exclusion of others, see Appendix D. This appendix also shows where all themes relating to 'talk about interventions' were mentioned. Appendix E illustrates in more detail themes that were identified during the assessment of the violent men. Some of these themes include alcohol, anger, attitudes to women, cycle of violence and loss of control (this appendix is discussed in chapter six).

NVivo 2 was used to apply the two coding frames discussed above to my textual data to subsequently sort, search and retrieve information (see for example Gibbs, 2002). The following illustrates an example of how text was coded under the further dimension of group discussions/interactions, discussed above (see point number six in Appendix F; see also Appendix F for examples of how other dimensions or rather themes were coded in the text):

Being open and honest in front of a group of people you don't know does have an impact on you. It makes you realise just how bad you really are (Mark, offender, 2nd interview).

⁴² This 'help' is not synonymous with the help of the welfare-focused approach where the focus was not necessarily on offending behaviours (see chapter one).

⁴³ Men's risk of abuse is linked primarily to the concept of men accepting blame and/or responsibility for violence (as opposed to a theme linked to a risk management/risk reduction strategy) because it is thought that men must first begin to accept blame/responsibility for violence in order to recognise their risk of abuse (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000).

This quote highlights one example of a man talking about how group discussions/interactions assisted him in accepting blame/responsibility for violence. There are other examples I might have drawn on to illustrate this (see chapter six). The Table about Where Themes Were Mentioned in Appendix D suggests that four other offenders in second interviews similarly spoke about group discussions/interactions. The next section details how the two categories of ‘talk about violence’ and ‘talk about interventions’ were integrated, to facilitate theory development.

4.7.6 Integrating Categories: Developing Theory

The third stage of Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) progressive coding framework is *selective coding*. Here, the researcher integrates categories in order to develop a theoretical framework. My method mirrors more Skinner’s (2005) notion of a two way dialectic between developing theory and coding. Rather than the theory simply coming from the data, it is also developed from the literature. In this section, I explain how I traversed the literature and data to develop theory. In doing so, the link between the two categories (i.e. ‘talk about violence’ and ‘talk about interventions’) is highlighted.

The Table 4.4 below illustrates the link between the two categories using some of the themes (i.e. dimensions) coded in the text as examples. These are listed in column 1.

Table 4.4 Integrating Categories: Developing Theory

THEMES (examples): Talk about Violence	THEORISING I: Individual Pathology/ Sociological Positivism	THEORISING II: Feminist Theorising	LINKS TO: ‘What Works’	LINKS TO: Talk about Interventions	MAIN CATEGORY: Discourses
1. Alcohol linked to abuse	Alcohol as dis-inhibitor	Alcohol as an excuse	Dynamic Risk (increases risks of violence)	Alcohol monitored by Case Manager/ Referral to ‘outside agency’ for ‘treatment’	Risk (assessment, management, and reduction of offending behaviour)
2. Guilt (accept responsibility), Victim Blaming- Provocation/ Self-Defence	Women addicted to excitement of violence	Women blamed for men’s intentional use of violence	‘Treatment’ as premised upon feminist thinking	Programme attempts to teach men about the intentional use of their abuse	Rehabilitation (changing offenders’ attitudes to end violence)

Considering the first theme and row in the Table 4.4 above, the role of alcohol and violence was discussed by offenders, practitioners, in case files, and during the programme (for specific examples see point number one in Appendix F). Drawing on the theoretical literature discussed in chapter three alcohol is either viewed as a disinhibitor (in positivist theorising) or as an excuse (in feminist thinking). The ‘what works’ literature and practitioners’ talk suggest that alcohol is viewed as a dynamic risk ‘factor’ (as opposed to a criminogenic need) that may increase the risk of re-offending. The category ‘talk about interventions’ integrates with the category of ‘talk about violence’ by case managers suggesting that they monitored an offenders’ alcohol problem but referred the offender to an agency outside of the criminal justice system for ‘treatment’ (see chapter six). Case managers implied managing offenders’ risks of re-offending. This then is the use of risk discourse.

The use of rehabilitation discourse is illustrated by themes in point number two shown in Table 4.4. These themes are about guilt and accepting responsibility for violence, but blaming the victim by suggesting provocation and/or self-defence (for specific examples see Appendix F and point number 2). Positivist theorising might indicate that women are addicted to the excitement of violence and they may provoke men to act abusively and/or in self-defence (see Pizzey and Shapiro 1981, 1982). Some feminists consider that women are blamed for men’s intentional use of intimate violence (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Domestic violence ‘treatment’ programmes are often premised upon such feminist tenets in order to expose men to this way of thinking (see Scourfield and Dobash, 1999; see also chapter two). The DVP in my study, for instance, aimed to end men’s violence against women in intimate relationship. It sought to do this by offering men the opportunity to accept blame and responsibility for violence and to change their thoughts about women in intimate relationships (see chapter six). This then is the use of rehabilitation discourse.

The above Table 4.4 is an excerpt of the Table shown in Appendix G. The whole table shows how themes drawn from the texts in Appendix F integrate with the literature and other data to comprise discourse. Chapters five and six discusses these and other themes, and their links with the categories ‘talk about violence’ and ‘talk about interventions’, in order to understand how they form part of risk or rehabilitation

discourse. The following section illustrates an additional phase in my data analysis, namely the importance of understanding the influence of the institutional domains on the use of risk and rehabilitation discourse in my study. This considers more about a Foucauldian reading of the data, whereas the latter part of the next section illustrates a feminist reading.

4.7.7 Applying the Conceptual Framework

4.7.7.1 A Foucauldian Reading

Foucault's (1981, 1989) conceptualisation of knowledge as discourses directed my attention to the interplay of themes, concepts, theories and doctrines as comprising discourses that are used to talk about a narrative (relating to some phenomena). His work illustrates the influence of institutional domains on the production, reproduction and circulation of discourses (see chapter three). In a similar vein, Gill (2000) argues that individuals interpret their social context and deploy discourses accordingly, albeit they may engage unknowingly or knowingly in this process (Davies and Harre, 1990). Therefore, understanding the context in which discourses are used is central to discourse analysis (Gill, 2000).

The different contexts identified in my study were assessment, case management, programme and men's talk. These were considered as domains where discourses gain and regain their legitimacy and influence (see Foucault, 1989). Each domain (apart from men and their talk) is an area or specific camp of probation practice (see chapters one and two).⁴⁴ In these different domains, a particular discourse may be more dominant than another discourse (see Foucault, 1989). For instance, when the influence of the institutional domains are considered in the interplay of discourses in my study, both discourses are still talked about, but one of the discourses, risk discourse, is more dominant throughout these varying contexts. Gill (2000:176) suggests that this is because of the 'functions' of using talk (and thus discourses) in various domains. I use Hollway's (1998:238) similar term of 'investments' to understand how individuals deploy a particular discourse in a certain domain because of the investments this serves for them (see more about this in chapters five and six).

⁴⁴ I described earlier how men's talk in interviews was a domain where discourses are used. This domain and the discourses deployed within interplay with other institutional domains and the discourses used within them.

Foucault (1989) also wrote about the contradictions of discourses. The contradiction between risk and rehabilitation is that the former discourse is about reducing violence whereas the latter discourse is about ending abuse. This is illustrated in Appendix H. As suggested above, alcohol (as well as anger) is viewed as a dynamic risk ‘factor’, which is part of risk discourse; whereas changing attitudes about women is perceived as a criminogenic need and part of rehabilitation discourse. Drawing on Foucault’s (1981, 1989) work, the use of *both* discourses throughout domains to talk about how to ‘treat’ male intimately violent offenders suggests the contradiction has been made sense of (see also Burton and Carlen, 1979).

To understand further how contradictions within discourses are made sense of it is important in discourse analysis to consider what has not been said in talk and texts; to heed the ‘silences’ (Gill, 2000:180) or ‘subtexts’ (Hearn, 1998a:64). Gill (2000:180) suggests that to understand the unsaid it is necessary to have an awareness of the socio-political contexts in which talk is used. The context relevant to my research was discussed in chapters one and two. My study is set against an official backdrop that emphasises controlling offenders (Garland, 2001; see also Hudson, 2003). This is so that the risks presented by them are managed and the public protected (Feeley and Simon, 1992; Robinson and McNeill, 2004; see Home Office, 2002a). Understanding this context illuminates how a discourse of rehabilitation, that emphasises offender change to end men’s violence, is sometimes mentioned, sometimes not in the unofficial perpetrator programme despite rehabilitation being the intervention’s stated aim (see chapters five and six).

Rehabilitation appears to be a residual discourse used in an official context that has moved away from such a way of ‘treating’ offenders (see Garland, 2001; Robinson, 1999, 2002). This is reflected in my data. It appears from the process of data analysis discussed above that risk discourse was more dominantly talked about than rehabilitation discourse. Much of the assessment of the violent men identified risk ‘factors’ such as alcohol, anger, and the cycle of violence (see Appendix E; see also Home Office, 2002a; 2002b; Kropp *et al.*, 2002). These are linked to positivist views about the aetiology of domestic violence behaviours and they suggest the use of risk discourse (see previous Table 4.4 above and Appendix G for more examples). The

practices of case management appear to be focused on the management of offenders' risks. This is illustrated by the demands of writing PSRs, more contacts with high-risk offenders, and the small amount of time available for offender's supervision. It appears that violent men talked about assessing, managing and reducing their violence by drawing on risk management and reduction strategies. Such strategies were taught during the programme.

The influence of rehabilitation discourse in the programme domain, and how violent men drew on this, is discussed in chapter six. Men appear to begin to accept blame/responsibility for violence because they talked about making changes, with some referring to their attitudes towards women in intimate relationships. Chapter six, however, notes that most men in interviews (the domain of men's talk) did not draw fully on a discourse of rehabilitation to talk about an end to violence. Where some men did express not wanting to commit violence, they often did not talk about changing their underlying thoughts about women in intimate relationships to support this (see also chapter five).

4.7.7.2 A Feminist Reading

Appendix I expands upon accounts about intimate violence from a feminist perspective. This reading is considered important because underlying the DVP were feminist principles about how to 'treat' male intimately violent offenders. Drawing on feminist tenets, these themes were jealousy, intimidation, isolation, male privilege and victim blaming.⁴⁵ Such themes might be considered by some feminists as criminogenic needs to be altered to end men's violence (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000).⁴⁶ Other themes identified are the repetitive and private nature of intimate violence. Some writers consider that these might be perceived as risk 'factors' that increase the risks of violence and harm (see Kropp *et al.*, 2002; see also Mullender, 1996a; Mullender and Morley, 1994).⁴⁷ As suggested above, needs are more aligned with a discourse of rehabilitation since altering the need is perceived to end violence, whereas risks are

⁴⁵ See Appendix C for meanings of themes.

⁴⁶ Other feminists such as Radford and Stanko (1991) argue that it is the deeper social structures embedded in patriarchal society that need to be changed.

⁴⁷ Kropp *et al.* (2002), to varying extents and in one form or another, also consider that '[sexual] jealousy', 'intimidation', 'male privilege' and 'victim blaming' are possible risk 'factors' (see chapter two about the conflation of offenders' needs and offenders' risks).

thought about in terms of their assessment, management and reduction, and hence they comprise risk discourse.

Data was also analysed then via a feminist reading albeit primarily situated within an overall conceptual framework based on the theoretical works of Foucault (1981, 1989). Foucault viewed knowledge as discourses that were produced, reproduced and circulated within (historical and) institutional contexts (such as assessment, programme and case management in my study). By displacing (but still recognising the restriction upon and existence of) the speaker/author of texts, meaning has been sought within discourse (Foucault, 1981). In a complex and dialectic process that traversed the data and the literature, contradictory discourses of risk and rehabilitation were presented to make sense of talk about how to 'treat' male intimately violent offenders. An analytical approach based on the work of Foucault and post-modern tenets is not without problems. The following section discusses some of the criticisms levied against such an approach.

4.8 Limitations of the Approach

Postmodernism, according to Jackson (1992), has three basic tenets (see also Sayer, 1993). Firstly, for postmodernists there is nothing outside language. Meaning is constructed through language. Secondly, there is no fixed 'self' other than that represented in language (Jackson, 1992). Constructions of 'self', whether unknowingly or knowingly, are the products of positioning ourselves within language and discourses (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Hollway, 1998). Thirdly, postmodernists denounce any claims to objective and universal 'truths' (Jackson, 1992; Strinati, 1992). Lyotard (1984:39) suggests that 'scientific' knowledge, on which Foucault (1980) implies much objective and universal 'truths' are premised, is in 'crisis'. This is because the legitimacy of knowledge in post-modern society is devised in different ways (see Calhoun, 1995 for contestations of the term 'postmodernism', see also Smart, 1993). As Lyotard (1984:37) suggests the claims of 'grand narratives' of the empirical sciences as valid forms of knowledge, are less credible. Statements of 'truth', particularly those that are derived from empirical and 'scientific' knowledge, are often contested. Knowledge is viewed as much more uncertain and diverse (Strinati, 1992).

Post-modern tenets, particularly the work of Foucault (1981, 1989) forms the conceptual and analytical approach of my study. This chapter has illustrated how such an approach is an appropriate way of carrying out the aim and objectives of my research. Some writers have raised inconsistencies with this type of approach. For instance, because authors such as Derrida (1974) have suggested there is nothing outside language, critiques have taken this to deny agency and a 'reality' to individuals (Calhoun, 1995; Jackson, 1992; see also Burr, 2003). Denying agency to individuals suggests that they have no choice in the reconstruction of their own experiences (Worrall, 1990). As Worrall (1990:22) argues, individuals 'become the objects of [another] discourse'. Jackson (1992) suggests that any positive identities that individuals had constructed are meaningless and Plummer (1995) indicates that individuals who talk about traumatic events may be denied the 'reality' of their experiences. Worrall (1990) concluded that the women in her study no longer held the meaning of their experiences because meaning had been sought within discourses (see Foucault, 1981, 1989).

Foucault (1981, 1989) did not wholly deny the existence of the author and speaker of texts and talk. He indicated that individuals write and speak from within the narrow historical and institutional confines of discourses. Individuals reconstruct their experiences and realities from within a realm of language and discourse (see also Burr, 2003). This positioning and speaking from within discourses, whether intentionally or unintentionally, can be used to suggest that individuals can have agency in their choice to use discourses. Individuals therefore use language and discourse to make sense of their own realities (Davies and Harre, 1990). Furthermore, this agency is driven by the investments for individuals to position within certain discourses and outwith others (Hollway, 1998).

The contention then between supporters of a 'material reality' (Jackson, 1992:27) and claims about 'nothing outside of the text' (Derrida, 1974:158) may be compromised somewhat by Foucault's (1981, 1989) understanding about the representation of realities existing within the narrow field of the historical and institutional confines of discourse. This implies that individuals can have some agency and choice in using discourse but this is not fixed, it is changeable, because agency in discourse analysis is linked to an unknowable 'self' that is not determined in any known way (Davies and

Harre, 1990, 1999; see also Burr, 2003). This is the argument for a discourse analysis approach. It does not seek a fixed, knowing and knowable 'self'. This is the remit of the empirical sciences, which, as suggested, stems from an epistemology in stark opposition to the analytical approach of discourse analysis (Burr, 2003).

In relation to my study, some men did not deploy a discourse of rehabilitation about how to change their attitudes and behaviours to end their violence. This may be because of the perceived investment for them not to talk about this discourse. Feminist tenets inform rehabilitation discourse about how men change to end their violence by suggesting that men must accept blame and responsibility for their abuse (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Some men may not use these feminist principles because by saying that they are responsible and blameworthy for violence this may damage the image of the 'self'. Some men did not accept blame for violence, which in turn perceivably avoided spoiling the perception of the 'self' to others and themselves (see for example Goffman, 1968, 1971; Sykes and Matza, 1957). Conversely, some men did align with these feminist views to talk about changing behaviour. This may be because it implied that they were positively engaging with the programme and thus their court orders. In doing so, they present a positive image of the 'self' (see Bottoms, 2001). Understanding the investments that positioning within discourses serves, facilitates an understanding of how individuals reconstruct their realities through discourses (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Hollway, 1998).

Some discourses are more dominant than other discourses. Individuals' choice and agency in using some discourses and not others to reconstruct their experiences is sometimes constrained. This means that individuals might talk about their lives from a narrow limited viewpoint (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Hollway, 1998; see also Burr, 2003; Foucault, 1981). For example, men and practitioners in my study represented their experiences by drawing on a discourse of risk. This discourse had legitimacy and influence within all of the institutional sites of the organisations in which intimately violent men were 'treated'. Sometimes the investments for violent men to position outwith this discourse were so limited that their unintentional or knowing use of an alternative less dominant discourse, like rehabilitation, was small. Hence, the dominant deployment of risk discourse by practitioners and intimately violent men in my study.

Individuals' positioning within discourses and their subsequent deployment of discourses often elicit contradictory and multiple meanings (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Hollway, 1998). This is because discourses co-exist in a contradictory fashion (like risk and rehabilitation) with meanings fluctuating across perspectives (Davies and Harre, 1990; see also Jackson, 1992; Sayer, 1993). An example of this in my study is the hybrid approach of the DVP of cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) and feminism. These two perspectives are thought to be theoretically incompatible (Pence and Shepard, 1988). In my research, when some men did not draw on feminist principles to talk about how to *work with* intimately violent offenders they sometimes used CBT to suggest how to *deal with* violent men. In doing this, men talked about the dominant discourse of risk and the management and reduction of their violence. They did not speak about the less dominant discourse of rehabilitation about changing to end their abuse, in these instances. Yet with postmodernists' disclaims to 'absolute truths' (Strinati, 1992:3), Jackson (1992) argues that there is no basis on which to advocate one perspective or discourse over another (Burr, 2003; see also Ramazanoglu with Holland, 2002). From this viewpoint *dealing with* offenders in relation to risk discourse cannot be seen to be advocated over *working with* offenders in terms of a discourse of rehabilitation, and vice versa. Both perspectives might then be talked about as possible ways of 'treating' intimately violent offenders. Indeed, this is what my study suggests.

Theorising from a postmodernist stance about a problem generates uncertain knowledge often with many possible readings (Ramazanoglu with Holland, 2002; Strinati, 1992). Sayer (1993) argues that just because knowledge is uncertain, like that of postmodernist thought, does not mean that it is practically useless. It is through discourse analysis, Gill (2000) argues, that conflicting perspectives are made sense of (see also Foucault, 1989). As Hollway (1998) suggests, discourses serve to theorise about a particular problem. In relation to my study, this is about how an area of the NPS 'treats' male intimately violent offenders.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has considered how the revised research aim and objectives were undertaken. It discussed the methods used in my study and the analytical approach adopted. The chapter has argued for an alternative approach to studying the 'treatment' of domestic violence offenders that moves beyond evaluative studies. My approach

does not overcome the limitations of previous evaluative research. Instead, it suggests a theoretical and analytical approach that deconstructs accounts of intimate violence and details about interventions to ‘treat’ male intimately violent offenders. It advances a study that analyses discourses. Discourse analysis is not concerned with analysing language to find out about a single ‘reality’, such as what occurred at a particular time. Discourse analysis deconstructs the representation of realities (Gill, 2000). Using the theoretical works of Foucault (1981, 1989), my study draws on his concept of discourses as statements that are produced, reproduced and circulated historically and institutionally. The meanings of talk and texts are not sought within the individual speakers or authors but in analysing discourses (Burton and Carlen, 1979). Using in-depth interviews, questionnaires, detailed programme observations, case files and a programme manual, these texts were analysed for discourses produced, reproduced and circulated within the institutional domains of the organisations studied, the assessment, case management and programme, as well as within the domain of men’s talk. This theoretical and analytical approach, including the methods used is appropriate for understanding how an area of the NPS ‘treats’ male intimately violent offenders. The next chapter presents some of my research findings about this and the use of risk discourse.

CHAPTER FIVE

TALKING ABOUT A DOMINANT RISK DISCOURSE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents some of the findings from my study. It discusses how practitioners and intimately violent men draw on the official (and unofficial) rhetoric to talk about how to ‘treat’ offenders in terms of a discourse of risk, which is about assessing, managing and reducing risks of violence. The chapter is divided into three main sub-headings: practitioners’ talk, programme talk, and men’s talk. ‘Practitioners’ talk’ comes from questionnaires and interviews with practitioners.⁴⁸ ‘Men’s talk’ stems from interviews with the violent men. ‘Programme talk’ comprises data drawn from observations of the perpetrator programme and textual data analysis of the manual.

This chapter begins by differentiating how the statutory organisation, the *National Probation Service* (NPS) and the local non-government organisation (NGO) initially assessed intimately violent men and their subsequent allocation to the domestic violence programme (DVP). I then progress to consider how the probation area in my study and the practitioners who work within it talk about assessing violent men for risks of re-offending and harm. The following section continues to understand practitioners’ accounts of their practices. It suggests how offenders’ needs and offenders’ risks are merged to equate to the risks of re-offending. A discussion follows about the management and reduction of risks. The bifurcating nature of risk discourse into managing and reducing risks is considered, particularly how managerialism may serve to maintain the dominance of risk management rhetoric (as opposed to risk reduction). This section also highlights the possible investments for case managers to speak more about managing risks than reducing them.

The middle part of this chapter considers the institutional domain of the programme and the talk within. Here, risk discourse and the rhetoric of both risk management and risk reduction are highlighted emanating from the programme manual, workers application of the exercises in group-work, and in men’s subsequent responses. This part of the

⁴⁸ Sometimes throughout this chapter it is not appropriate to identify the ‘job title’ of the practitioner referred to in the text. This is because of ethical reasons where I need to protect the anonymity of individuals (see chapter four). For this reason also, I have given pseudonyms to practitioners.

chapter outlines men's positioning (i.e. speaking from) within discourses (see Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999) for the investments this serves for them (see Hollway, 1998). Two investments are discussed. These are external constraints and complying with court orders, and related to this is presenting a positive image of the 'self' (see Goffman, 1968, 1971). These investments are elaborated further in the final section on 'men's talk'. This illustrates how men talk in interviews about a discourse of risk, in terms of them managing and reducing their own risks of violence.

Chapter five argues that practitioners and intimately violent men talk similarly about how to 'treat' intimately violent offenders, in terms of risk discourse. Practitioners particularly case managers, talk mainly about risk management strategies whereas violent men talk about this and risk reduction. Practitioners and violent men deploy a dominant discourse of risk because there are investments for them to do so. These investments, such as the presentation of an unspoiled 'self', mean that accounts comprising of such talk are likely to be accepted within the varying institutional domains studied of the assessment, case management and the programme.

5.2 Statutory and Non-Government Organisations

The probation area involved in the study delivered the DVP in partnership with a local NGO. Court-ordered men attended the programme via the probation service, whereas the NGO provided the means for 'self-referred' men to attend. Usually, two-thirds of men were court-mandated. All men were assessed prior to commencing the programme. Probation assessed violent men pre-sentence for their suitability to attend the programme (see chapter one). Once sentenced with a condition to attend the DVP, commencement for court-ordered men is usually prompt. In my study, they had started the programme within three months of receiving their Community Rehabilitation Orders. These men were assessed and monitored throughout their orders. This contrasts to men who 'self-refer'. Here, men were assessed by the NGO and placed on the waiting list. They could wait up to nine months for a place on the programme, often receiving little or no contact in this interim period from the NGO.

The dominant and legitimised practices of criminal justice organisations/state-sanctioned interventions in comparison to non-statutory organisations are beginning to emerge. This is reflected in:

- (i) the unequal balance of attendance on the programme favouring court-mandated men;
- (ii) the subsequent wait for ‘self-referred’ men which was three times that of court-ordered men; and
- (iii) in the ongoing assessment and supervision of sentenced men (see Chapman and Hough, 1998).

For these reasons, and perceivably contributing to the dominant status of statutory organisations, this chapter (and the next) centres almost exclusively on probation in terms of its assessment and supervision of offenders.⁴⁹

Chapter one discussed how the probation service must be seen as a legitimate organisation that supervises offenders on tough community penalties (Hedderman and Hough, 2004). Some of the aims of a community sentence are to:

- (i) ‘reduce the likelihood of re-offending’;
- (ii) ‘rehabilitate the offender, where possible’; and
- (iii) ‘minimise risk of harm to the public’ (Home Office, 2002a:C2).

Integral to achieving these aims, is the assessment of offenders, pre- and post- their conviction (see also chapter six). The following section discusses this assessment process.

5.3 Practitioners’ Talk

5.3.1 Assessing Risks of Re-Offending and Risks of Harm

Chapter one discussed how over the past decade the probation service has become increasingly concerned with assessing the dangerousness of offenders and managing the risks they pose to the public (Kemshall, 1995, 1998; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992). This public protection rhetoric comprises official rhetoric (Robinson, 2002; Robinson and McNeill, 2004). As part of the official ‘what works’ agenda, one of the ‘factors’ thought to be integral to successful programmes, in terms of their capacity to reduce recidivism, is assessing the level of risk of re-offending and allocating the appropriate

⁴⁹ Eight of the ten practitioners interviewed worked within the probation service, whereas the NGO comprised of only a few staff. Thus, most practitioners’ talk comes from workers within the probation service. Moreover, as mentioned, the NGO did not supervise men like the probation service (i.e. outside of the DVP).

resources to reduce that risk (Home Office, 1999a; McGuire, 2000; Vennard *et al.*, 1997).

The probation area I studied appeared to adopt what Partridge (2004:4) termed a 'hybrid' case management model that incorporates specialist and generic ways of supervising offenders (see chapter one). Whilst there was a separate team of probation officers to carry out the initial assessment of offenders, case managers were also asked to do this (see Burnett, 1996). Assessment tools that are thought to have an 'evidence-base' underpinning them were used to assess court-mandated men for risks (see Home Office, 2002b). One of these tools was OASys (see Appendix E for other tools). Only Part One of this assessment tool was used, which was the assessment of risk of harm (see Home Office, 2004c). OASys categorises offenders into four camps: low, medium, high, and very high risk (Home Office, 2002b). The probation area later implemented OASys Two (2002), which as well as assessing risk of harm, assesses the likelihood of an individual re-offending and the offender's criminogenic needs (Home Office, 2002a, 2002b; see also Merrington and Hine, 2001). The tool as a whole assesses both offenders' risks and needs attempting to ultimately measure:

- (i) 'an offender's likelihood of reconviction';
- (ii) 'the criminogenic 'factors' associated with offending'; and
- (iii) 'the risk of harm he or she presents' (to the public) (Home Office, 2002b; 2003c:2).

These aims of OASys link with the aims of a community sentence suggested above (see Home Office, 2002a).

Despite a generic assessment tool used for different types of offenders who commit varied offending behaviours, it is thought that OASys can identify domestic violence cases by teasing out key risk 'factors' associated with intimate violence (see Home Office, 2003a). These risk 'factors' are thought of as including past history of intimate violence and, escalating frequency and severity of violence (see Kropp *et al.*, 2002 and chapter six).⁵⁰ Of the six case managers I interviewed (four of which were probation

⁵⁰ Kropp *et al.*'s, (2002) *Spousal Assault Risk Assessment* (SARA) tool is due to be implemented in 2005-2006 alongside the implementation of an accredited domestic violence programme (see Home Office, 2003a).

officers and two were trainee probation officers), three talked about the usefulness of OASys in the assessment of domestic violence offenders.⁵¹

[...] but OASys is good because it identifies with the person's risk of harm to the general public, it identifies with the risk of harm to children, it identifies with the risk of harm to a known person. Then it also looks at risk of harm to staff and also risk of harm in an institution. And, also risk of self-harm. So you've got all the areas that you have in domestic violence [...] [Jack, practitioner].

Jack is talking from within dominant and legitimised risk discourse about 'assessing [...] the risk of harm he or she [the offender] presents' (Home Office, 2003c:2) to ultimately 'minimise risk of harm to the public' (Home Office, 2002a:C2). Assessing offender's risks then facilitates the management of offenders in the community (NPS, 2001).

Kemshall (1998) found that probation officers defined and identified risk in different ways, and the use of standardised risk assessment methods, like OASys, did not guarantee a quantifiable and agreed concept. In her study, there was a difference in the type and level of risk posed, and the appropriate intervention required to manage risk. Defining and predicting risks is problematic (Kemshall, 1995). One probation officer from my study talks about the difficulties in assessing risk, particularly in relation to crimes of intimate violence. The focus of the following extract is how the case manager makes a decision about whether to take an existing order back to court to have it revoked because it is thought that the offender has made good progress (see Bottoms, 2001).⁵²

⁵¹ Most of the practitioners in my study are referred to as 'practitioners'. Where necessary to the argument I provide the practitioner's job title, such as case manager. On occasions it is not appropriate (nor necessary) to identify the job title of the practitioner speaking. As suggested, this is to protect the anonymity of the individual concerned (see chapter four).

⁵² Despite practitioners mentioning early revocation of a court order on the grounds of good progress made by an offender, little reference is made to this practice in *National Standards* (see Home Office, 2002a). The *Criminal Justice Act 1991* (see Wasik and Taylor, 1991) and *Criminal Justice Act 2003* both mention such a practice (Ward and Davies, 2004).

[...] if I genuinely think risks been reduced, then yeah I do it [revoke an order]. I have to say I do it less for domestic violence people, but that's because it's, you never really know, the indicators have changed so they're debatable aren't they? Risk, because it's one of those well kept secrets isn't it? Like incest and that, you don't really know the depth of it, you don't get the feeling. I feel less confident and less safe revoking domestic violence, but I have done it in the past [...]. I don't use it as a reward [revoking an order], I use it as a recognition that they've worked hard and the main thing is that the risk has fallen. So in a revocation for good progress, I would have to be able to say with hand on my heart that I believe that the risk has been reduced. So you know, I would need hard evidence for that, and, it maybe that they're divorced and moved away. You know that sort of evidence would be acceptable, but if they're still living with their wives then that's very difficult. I'm more likely to say, 'well look, you know it's only monthly now [contact with the probation service], stick with it' [Henry, practitioner].

Only this case manager spoke about revoking an offender's order on the grounds of good progress. Henry almost makes his account unacceptable within the domain of case management, by highlighting the difficulty of measuring an invisible and private crime such as domestic violence (see Mirrlees-Black, 1999). This is because he does not appear to use a legitimised risk discourse about the assessment of offenders (see Home Office, 2002a). For example, he does not refer to the accredited and perceived 'evidence-based' tool that assesses risks and the probability of re-offending based on actuarial calculations. Nor does he mention the predicted level of risk of harm, such as low risk, medium risk, high risk and very high risk (see Home Office, 2002b; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992). But, by later indicating in his account that he requires 'hard evidence' for his decision to revoke an order, he is espousing dominant 'what works' guidelines about needing an 'evidence-base' to inform his (supposedly effective) practice initiative (see Chapman and Hough, 1998).

Beck (1992) argues that just because practitioners are thought to use dominant forms and productions of knowledge (such as an 'evidence-base') to guide their assessments of risks, it does not mean that their calculations are accurate (see also Giddens, 1990). Much criticism has been made about the 'evidence-base' informing 'what works' guidelines within the probation service (Mair, 2004b; Merrington and Stanley, 2000; see also chapter two). Postmodernists such as Lyotard (1984:37) suggest that the claims of the 'grand narratives' of the empirical sciences as valid forms of 'scientific' knowledge are less credible (see chapter four). Statements of 'absolute truths' are often contested, and knowledge viewed as much more uncertain and diverse (Strinati, 1992:3). For

example, research suggests that intimate violence occurs in various types of relationships, not just of the marital kind (Mirrlees-Black, 1999), as Henry implies in the above extract. Furthermore, a feminist reading of the above quote may not consider that men and women who are ‘divorced and moved away’ as indicative of a reduction in perpetrators’ risks of harm and violent behaviours. In some cases, violence can escalate after separation (Hester, Pearson and Harwin, 2000; Mullender and Morley, 1994; see also Gondolf, 1987; Mirrlees-Black, 1999). Moreover, Henry appears to refer only to the risk presented to current or former partners. He seems to neglect the possible risk of harm and violence the offender presents to women with whom he may have future intimate relationships. It is thought that men might be violent in a number of relationships (see Gondolf 1987), which was the case with three of the men in my study (as indicated in their assessments and some of the interviews). Therefore, whilst Henry fails to wholly draw on a feminist view of assessing the risks of harm and violence presented by intimately violent men, some of his narrative, particularly about the difficulties in assessing risks presented by such perpetrators, may be acceptable when considered from this perspective (see for example Kershaw *et al.*, 2000; Mirrlees-Black, 1999).

5.3.2 Risks of Re-Offending: Merging Offender Risks and Offender Needs

Henry, the probation officer speaking in the last extract above, has drawn on some of the official rhetoric available to him. This discourse on risk emanates from within government, perhaps within the National Probation Directorate (NPD) and fed-down to local probation areas via senior managers (e.g. senior probation officers). It is subsequently picked-up by mainstream practitioners such as probation officers, trainee probation officers and probation service officers. Rumgay (2004:137) refers to this process as a ‘top-down’ approach. Although the focus of this discourse is in part on risk assessment of offenders exemplified in the use of accredited assessment tools such as OASys (Home Office, 2002b), Kemshall (1998) argues that these instruments reflect official interests and not those of probation officers who work on a daily basis with concepts of risk. As suggested, she found the assessment of risk by probation officers problematic (see also Kemshall, 1995), and this is illustrated in Henry’s account above.

Another practitioner provides a plausible, in that, it is subjectively meaningful to the speaker (see Phoenix, 1997, 1999), and acceptable account by the probation area because of the official risk discourse espoused about assessing risk.

[...] when I said criminogenic need, that's a risk factor because it's obviously associated to the risk of re-offending. And so, when I was talking about depending on what the needs were [of the offender], we're still latched into risk, but in that sense, risk of re-offending not just risk of harm. So, we'd [case managers] be trying to address the needs that came up in the assessment as being linked to the offending, that would be maybe outside the domestic violence programme. And, what they would be doing on the domestic violence programme would very much depend on the individual issues for that case [Joanne, practitioner].

Joanne suggests, as do two other practitioners in my study that individual needs are risk 'factors' because they are connected to risks of re-offending (see also Andrews and Bonta, 1994; Aubrey and Hough, 1997; Calverley *et al.*, 2004; Farrall, 2002). This rhetoric is official because it is exemplified in the Home Office's (2002b) literature about the purpose of OASys, which is to identify offender needs in order to assess risks of harm and re-offending. Merged this way, offenders' needs and risks are part of risk discourse (see chapter three). Denis explains further.

You see what this thing [OASys] allows you to do is, this tool, I mean I've put medium risk to his partner but, it's not risk, it's not assessed as being a risk to say, for example, the public or children and stuff. That's been based on the evidence that we have on him. So that's the good thing about this tool, is that for everything that you write down, you have to kind of provide some evidence to why you think that he is a risk to his partner. In this case, his offences, the ones that he has been convicted of and the ones he hasn't been convicted of, the two of them are against his partner, and clearly there was alcohol involved in all three. So obviously he's more of, in terms of risk, is medium risk to his partner, and that risk would increase should he start abusing alcohol, you know, getting drunk and stuff [Denis, practitioner].

Denis focuses on the offender's criminogenic need of alcohol as a dynamic risk 'factor' related to the risk of harm and violence the offender presents to his partner or ex-partner, as opposed to a generic risk to the wider public (see Home Office, 2002b; see also Calverley *et al.*, 2004 and Garland, 1997; Robinson, 1999).

Denis, like the case manager Henry speaking above, talks from within an official discourse of risk (although Denis draws more on the specific terminology of this discourse about the use of ‘evidence-base’ assessment tools and predictions about risk). Denis’ narrative focuses primarily on the protection of victims rather than any overt concerns relating to the offender other than the risk he presents (see Garland, 1997, 2001; see also Chapman and Hough, 1998). Denis implies that the knowledge he has about this risk is objective and calculable because of the application of an accredited assessment tool. He has deployed dominant rhetoric about assessing offenders’ risks and legitimised knowledge because it is perceived to be ‘evidence-based’ (see Home Office, 2002b; see also Chapman and Hough, 1998). However, a less dominant feminist reading of the data might argue that children who are exposed to domestic violence are at risk of such abuse themselves (Humphreys and Mullender, 2000; Mullender, 1996b; Mullender and Morley, 1994). The man who Denis is talking about in the above extract resided with both his partner and their children. Yet Denis suggests that children are not at risk. In this respect, Denis’ quote discords with Henry’s argument made above about the difficulties in assessing risks of harm and violence presented by domestic violence perpetrators, because Denis appears to simplify the issue.

As mentioned in the last chapter, it is important to understand what is not said in accounts by situating them within the over-arching socio-political context in which they are spoken (Gill, 2000). Denis’ rendition of risk discourse is about assessing criminogenic needs as dynamic risk ‘factors’ so that offender risks are identified. He does not mention the management and reduction of risks. Yet presumably Denis is talking about assessing risks so that they can be managed and reduced, since official risk discourse is about assessing, managing and ‘*where possible*’ reducing risks (Home Office, 2002a:C3; see also NPS, 2001; *my emphasis*). Robinson’s (2002) study suggests that reducing risks is more than just managing risk it is also reducing risk. Thus, the unofficial literature and official rhetoric notes the bifurcating nature of risk discourse in terms of managing *and* reducing risks posed by the offender. As will be seen, this bifurcation is linked in my study to the domains where accounts are deployed.

There are more silences in Dennis’ account (see Hearn, 1998a). He does not refer to offenders’ needs as criminogenic needs related to the offending behaviours (see

McGuire, 2000). Alcohol is not talked about as a criminogenic need that requires ‘treatment’ so that it is eliminated. Farrall (2002), for example, as well as talking about needs as risks that impinge upon re-offending, refers to needs as obstacles militating against offenders ending their criminal behaviours. Thus, targeting such ‘factors’, in terms of eliminating them, is important if offenders are to stop offending. Changing offenders’ criminogenic needs such as attitudes and their behaviours to end crime is about rehabilitating the offender. Such rhetoric comprises rehabilitation discourse (see Robinson, 1999, 2002; Robinson and McNeill, 2004; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992; Garland, 1997, 2001).

5.3.3 Protecting the Public: Risk Management or Risk Reduction?

Joanne also does not talk about this rehabilitation discourse. Instead, she indicates how risk discourse directs practices within the institutional domain of case management (see also Feeley and Simon, 1992). In the extract, she is talking about the anticipated work case managers should be carrying out with offenders.

Respondent: [...] it would very much depend on some of the practices I mentioned earlier, on what the circumstances of the individual case was, what the needs, what we would term the criminogenic needs of the individual were, as to how much input they receive, either prior to a programme or whatever. And usually at the moment, again, going back to because of the staffing situation, we would be prioritising around any harm situation that they would pose. So we would be trying to sort of monitor situations, keep them motivated in the hope that they would go and get something out of the programme.

Interviewer: *Is that then driven again by risk?*

Respondent: It is primarily [Joanne, practitioner].

Joanne again makes reference to offenders’ needs as dynamic risk ‘factors’ that influence risks of harm and re-offending (see also Andrews and Bonta, 1994; Aubrey and Hough, 1997; Calverley *et al.*, 2004; Farrall, 2002). In the above extract, she is also deploying risk discourse, in terms of managing and reducing offenders’ risks by allocation to a perpetrator programme (see chapter two about official and unofficial rhetoric of programmes). The ‘input’, to which Joanne refers, is determined by the perceived risk of the offender. It is unclear what Joanne means by ‘input’. She may mean *dealing with* the offender by increasing their contact to manage risks, as she

suggests in her extract below (see Home Office, 2002a). Alternatively, she might be referring to 'input' as *working with* the offender to alter attitudes. Dealing with an offender by increasing their contact with the probation service to monitor (i.e. assess, manage, *possibly* reduce) risks is part of risk discourse because such strategies are thought to reduce re-offending (see Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001). Working with offenders to alter attitudes linked to offenders' criminogenic needs, in order to end criminal behaviours (see for example Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000), is rehabilitation discourse.

It appears from Joanne's talk that offenders who are thought about as presenting serious risks of harm and re-offending are afforded more 'input' (see Home Office, 2002a). Authors suggest that expensive and scarce resources, like that of programmes, are allocated to the more risky offenders (Home Office, 2002c; Partridge, 2004; Robinson, 2002; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992; Garland, 1997, 2001). This does not necessarily mean that such resources are aimed at ending criminal behaviours. The official and unofficial rhetoric about the supervision of offenders by case managers (Burnett, 1996; Mair *et al.*, 1994; Rex, 1998b; Robinson, 2002) and of offending behaviour programmes in general is that they are to reduce the risks of re-offending behaviours (NPS, 2001; Underdown, 2001; see also Garland, 1997, 2001; Robinson, 1999, 2002; Robinson and McNeill, 2004 and chapters one and two). This then is risk discourse.

Most case managers in interviews spoke about how demands (such as monitoring risky offenders) affect their time *and* how limited resources compound the problem. Rachel explains.

[...] I think people [case managers] are committed and people do recognise that if someone [an offender] is risky in any way that they are going to need more [supervision], and they'll do what they can to make sure that happens. But if you're being honest, how can you deal with that many people [offenders]? It's just a problem in the service in general that it's understaffed [Rachel, practitioner].

Joanne indicates how this problem, espoused by Rachel, is 'dealt with'.

[...] that we are having to prioritise caseload, purely because of the numbers [of offenders] and the fact we have so many staff vacancies. So if there is a violence issue, or a child protection issue, or a risk to staff issue, something along those lines on the registers, then we would prioritise that case. And that case would be seen regularly by, what should be really the same supervisor, there'll always be an exception to that, but that's what should be happening [...] [Joanne, practitioner].

Following on from this extract, she again reiterates her point.

Interviewer: [...] *before and after the programme when the cases come back to case management, in terms of frequency of contact, does that just fall in line with National Standards in terms of how far they are on in their orders?*

Respondent: Yes unless there are specific issues that we need to deal with and sometimes, again, if somebody is a high risk, which is unlikely, although they can be a high risk to a particular individual, then we would be seeing them twice a week regardless of whether they are on the programme or not. High risk of harm I mean. But for every other risk category, unless there were specific issues coming up and hitting us in the face, they would go to *National Standards* reporting wherever they were in their order. So, if it was a high risk of harm, and if they were on the domestic violence programme and they were going once a week, we would see them once a week, and the liaison with the programme would be greater than it would be if it were a lower risk of harm [Joanne, practitioner].

Two other practitioners talked about increased contact with offenders deemed at high risk of harm. Practitioners talk about allocating limited resources, including probation officers' time, to the most risky offenders in order to manage risks (see also Home Office, 2001, 2002c; Partridge, 2004; Robinson, 2002). Official rhetoric suggests that this is to protect the public (see NPS, 2001). Less contact is required with offenders assessed as presenting a lower risk of harm, as Joanne suggests (see Home Office, 2002a; see also Appleton, 2004). Risk discourse is used within the confines of a managerialist approach. Here, increasing administrative restraints are placed on the probation service (Humphrey and Pease, 1992). These restraints stem from official rhetoric that directs probation areas and practitioners who work in them (i.e. a 'top-down' strategy, see Rumgay, 2004:137) to use resources efficiently and effectively (see Fowles, 1990; Humphrey and Pease, 1992). This entails allocating them to offenders who present the most serious and dangerous risks to the public in order to manage risks (Feeley and Simon, 1992; Garland, 1997, 2001; Home Office, 2001, 2002c; Kemshall,

1995, 1998; Partridge, 2004; Robinson, 2001, 2002). Practitioners' narratives seem to accord with this public protection rhetoric (see also Robinson, 2002; Robinson and McNeill, 2004).

As suggested in chapter one, the government introduced a number of policies and initiatives during the 1980s and early 1990s to reduce spending in the public sector, including the probation service (Fowles, 1990; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). Thus, expensive penal measures such as prison are claimed to be reserved for the most dangerous offenders, whereas cheaper non-custodial penalties are targeted at offenders who pose less of a risk of harm to the public (Feeley and Simon, 1992; see also Clear and Cadora, 2001).⁵³ This managerialist approach, about the perceived allocation of limited resources to manage and reduce the risks of re-offending, particularly from dangerous offenders, facilitates a vision of the probation service as an accountable public protection agency (Robinson and McNeill, 2004; see also Robinson, 2001, 2002). Robinson (1999:430, 2002) suggests that this is because managing *and* reducing risks of re-offending is a 'new rehabilitation' that serves to protect the public (see also Feeley and Simon, 1992; Garland, 2001). My study suggests that practitioners, particularly case managers, talk more about risk management as opposed to risk reduction. Indeed, official rhetoric states that practitioners, such as case managers in their supervision of offenders in the community, are to state (on the supervision plan, see chapter one) how they will manage risks of harm to the public and '*where possible*' how these risks can be reduced (Home Office, 2002a:C3; *my emphasis*). The following section considers in more detail the constraints of managerialism and how the elements of such processes, like that of fiscal concerns (see Feeley and Simon, 1992; see also Humphrey and Pease, 1992), facilitate the dominance of rhetoric about managing risk over and above that of reducing it.

⁵³ The actual practice of whether custodial sentences are imposed solely upon the most dangerous offenders is not the debate here. Rather the discourses that feed the policies and practices are what are central to the argument. For instance, Hudson (2001a, 2001b, 2002:24) provides an interesting discussion about how this 'risk track' guiding sentencing has widened so that more female offenders and offenders convicted of burglary were given custodial sentences, despite the relatively low risk of harm that they presented to the public, particularly harm of a sexual and violent nature.

5.3.4 Managing Offender Risks: Reducing and Maintaining Contacts

Foucault (1977) suggests that a disciplined society is one that is watched. All individuals, he argues, whether they are mad or sane, normal or abnormal, dangerous or otherwise are observed by authorities. In a somewhat similar vein, probation officers, in their management of risk, monitor all their cases. They do this, as suggested in chapter one, according to *National Standards*, an official publication of the state. *National Standards* sets the regulations about how the probation service (and thus probation practitioners) must make specific minimum contacts with offenders who are subjected to a court order (e.g. once a week, once every two weeks, once a month). This contact increases depending on the level of risk assigned to the offender (Home Office, 2002a). Such contacts do not encompass the appearance of constant watching that Foucault (1977) had in mind (Bentham's vision of the Panopticon) when he wrote about the disciplining of criminals.⁵⁴ Community sentences, for the most part, are limited in their capacity to physically constrain individuals into compliant behaviour (Bottoms, 2001; see also Clear and Cadora, 2001). However, this periodic monitoring is perceived, according to official rhetoric, to be sufficient in-line with the risk the offender presents to the public (see Home Office, 2002a). Henry, a case manager, justifies why he has reduced his contact with an offender.

Relaxation of contact is a direct result of good programme participation, a willingness to question his own beliefs, and an apparent reduction in risk [Henry, practitioner].

Henry's explanation of his supervision of an offender is an accepted account by the probation area for a number of reasons. He draws on a discourse of rehabilitation by suggesting that the offender has engaged with the perpetrator programme and is questioning his own beliefs, which is an objective of the DVP (see chapter six). One of the aims of a community sentence, like a Community Rehabilitation Order, which all court-ordered men were sentenced to in my study, is to 'rehabilitate the offender, where possible' (Home Office, 2002a:C2). I suggest in my study that this is about drawing upon rehabilitation discourse. Henry has drawn on this fading but accepted discourse (see chapter six).

⁵⁴ Panopticon was a central tower, designed to be built at the heart of a prison, to watch all prisoners. Prisoners knew they could be watched but did not know when. It was thought that this would compel them to behave compliantly at all times (Foucault, 1977).

He also positions himself and thus speaks from within dominant risk discourse. Whilst he may be talking about the reduction of offender risk in the above excerpt, which is also an aim of a community sentence, he does so within the framework of risk management rhetoric. He uses information of compliance with the programme, questioning beliefs and reduced risk to inform his decision about how to proceed with managing risk. Reducing contact with the offender conforms to official rhetoric that states that the level of an offender's risk determines the amount of contact the probation service has with that offender in order to primarily manage that risk (see Home Office, 2002a).

In my study, like most other case managers, Janice also heeds this requirement to monitor offenders, by making contact however minimal.

Respondent: [...] there is no set times [for length of supervision], not for our service. As long as I make contact with him.

Interviewer: *Is there any kind of like standard procedure on what you're meant to do in sessions when you see an offender?*

Respondent: Well no, because every offender is different. So, whatever you do depends on the person you're working with, and will depend upon their needs [Janice, practitioner].

Janice reflects Joanne's extracts in the above chapter section 5.3.3 by also speaking from within acceptable dominant risk discourse about managing offender risk via contact with the offender. The differing nature of offenders' supervision sessions is further illustrated by case managers' responses on the periodic questionnaires that they completed (see chapter four). Findings suggest that the time men spent in supervision sessions with their case managers varied from five minutes to one hour. The most frequent length of time for men to be in sessions was ten minutes. Many offenders in my study talked in interviews about the small amount of time they spent in supervision sessions with their case managers. Other research has shown the mode time of these sessions to be 'about half an hour' (Mair and May, 1997:35). The lack of a standard procedure in such sessions suggests the dominance of risk discourse and risk

management rhetoric by ‘monitoring’ (i.e. dealing with offenders) and not necessarily ‘doing’ (i.e. working with offenders).

Partridge (2004) echoes this argument by suggesting that what directs case management practices is the allocation of resources and achieving *National Standards* targets and not any fundamental concern with focusing on offenders’ responses to their supervision (see also Cavadino *et al.*, 1999). *National Standards* suggests that contact with offenders is so that they have chance to take part in supervision and ‘to satisfy the courts and the community that a credible level of disciplined supervision is taking place’ (Home Office, 2002a:D1). It seems that the over-arching concern driving the content of supervision sessions is this vision of a legitimate probation service that appears to protect the public from risks of harm and re-offending (Hedderman and Hough, 2004; Robinson and McNeill, 2004).

The following explains further the dominant nature of risk discourse and the dominance of risk management rhetoric in practitioners’ talk. Five of the six case managers I interviewed specifically talked about the time they had available to spend in supervision sessions with offenders (see also Humphrey and Pease, 1992). Jack explains.

You’ll have people [offenders] say five minutes [in supervision]. ‘Have you been re-arrested? No. Are you still living at the same place? Yes. How are you feeling today? Okay. Fine, see you next week’. It’s pressure and resources [Jack, practitioner].

Jack provides an accepted account despite the appearance of minimal monitoring. The offender’s address is important information so that Jack knows where to contact the offender if he needs to. Being arrested may suggest that offender risk had increased, and the public including the offender’s partner or ex-partner may be at risk of harm. Moreover, asking how an offender is feeling may assess and manage risk because the offender may talk about some of his criminogenic needs or what are often viewed as dynamic risk ‘factors’, such as alcohol (see above). Monitoring such ‘factors’ enables Jack to assess the likely impact of them on re-offending behaviours.

Jack is implying there is only time for one-syllable answers. Furthermore, the flippant tone of voice that he used to explain the situation indicates that such meetings and questions may be for appearances. Jack is 'seen' to be following official regulations about making contact with offenders, rather than actually ascertaining much about the offender in order to monitor his case in a more effective manner (which might involve seeking more information from the victim/survivor of the abuse, see Mullender and Burton, 2000; see also below). There are investments for Jack and other case managers to position and speak from within this dominant risk discourse and the rhetoric of risk management. Firstly, he appears to be doing his job. Secondly, the limited time that he has available to supervise offenders is not taken up with concerns about risk reduction strategies.

Janice also talks about this minimal monitoring. In doing so, she highlights the demands of writing pre-sentence reports (PSRs) for the courts.

Interviewer: So do you think you'll ever in the future actually start addressing the offending behaviour of the men you work with?

Respondent: With people on the programme?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Respondent: It's what the big drive is towards by those above us, but until they deal with the issues on the ground, it's not going to happen.

Interviewer: Such as?

Respondent: Well, until they either provide more staff to do the work, so that the staff that are here have got the space. Until they do something with the courts to prevent the amount of reports [PSRs] coming through [from the court] that are pointless, and until they reduce the number on our caseloads, because there's another side to this as well, I've not long qualified [as a probation officer] with a caseload of eighty [Janice, practitioner].

Janice speaks from within the confines of the managerialist tasks that she has to carry out as a case manager. Despite being 'the big drive', Janice suggests that addressing offending behaviour is less dominant. Robinson (1999:430, 2002) argues this is a 'new rehabilitation' re-cast 'in a framework of risk' (Garland, 2001:176). Chapter six and section 6.3.2 discuss this in more detail. Janice implies that the rhetoric of risk

management is dominant. PSRs can be viewed as a risk assessment and management tool, as well as a tool focusing on offender needs (see chapter six). PSRs assess the most suitable community sentence appropriate for the offender so that an offender's risks can be managed. Every PSR incorporates a section on the likelihood of re-offending and risk of harm posed to the public by the offender (Home Office, 2002a; see also Burnett, 1996). If offender risks were documented as serious, the PSR would propose a custodial sentence to incapacitate the offender in order to manage risks (see Home Office, 2002a; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992). Despite courts requesting PSRs (Whittaker *et al.*, 1997), Janice suggests that not all offenders require them, as indicated by '[...] the amount of reports coming through that are pointless [...]' (see also Home Office, 2001). For some offenders, a Specific Sentence Report may be sufficient. This can be used to propose a straight Community Rehabilitation Order without additional requirements (Home Office, 2002a). According to the Home Office (2002a), the use of a Specific Sentence Report is so that sentencing can take place immediately. Whittaker *et al.* (1997) found that PSRs were one of the most frequent reasons why courts adjourned for sentencing. *National Standards* indicate that PSRs are to be prepared within 15 days (Home Office, 2002a). As such, 10 per cent of a probation area's budget is linked to their timely preparation (NPS, 2001).

Managerialism then appears to facilitate the dominance of risk discourse particularly talk about risk management (including assessment) rather than risk reduction in my study (although see Robinson, 2002 for how practitioners also talk about risk reduction). Humphrey and Pease (1992) suggest that the managerialist approach with its administrative demands has moved the emphasis away from the probation service's ability to reduce (risk discourse) or stop (rehabilitation discourse) criminal behaviours. These demands like the completion of PSRs, serve as instruments to allocate the limited resources to the most risky offenders so that risk can be managed and the public protected (Home Office, 2002a; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992).

Most of the case managers in my study spoke about the demands of writing high numbers of PSRs. One of the other big pressures, and mentioned by all case managers, was enforcing orders. Enforcing orders includes maintaining regular and required contacts with offenders in accordance with the official rhetoric of *National Standards*. If offenders fail to keep these contacts and provide no acceptable reason for their

absence, case managers are to initiate breach proceedings immediately (Home Office, 2002a). This means that the offender will be taken back to court, face possible revocation of the current order, and re-sentencing for the original offence (see Office of Public Sector Information, 2003; see also Hedderman and Hough, 2004). This re-sentence may entail the imposition of a more suitable penalty so that the risks the offender poses to the public can be managed more effectively.⁵⁵ Official rhetoric suggests that enforcing orders is crucial if the probation service is to be considered a legitimate organisation that protects the public (see Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001; see also Hedderman and Hough, 2004; Humphrey and Pease, 1992). Joanne draws on this official rhetoric and highlights the incentive for the probation area to achieve targets in enforcement, in terms of the financial implications (see NPS, 2001; see also Humphrey and Pease, 1992). Two other practitioners similarly spoke about funding.

[...] enforcement is performance linked, it's linked to a budget. Usually if you don't achieve the targets that are set and the percentages that are set, we actually lose huge chunks out of the budget. And we [case management] [...] were performing badly twelve months ago, in terms of enforcement. We're performing much better now. We did lose some money out of the budget, but whether that impacted directly on staffing numbers I don't know [...] [Joanne, practitioner].

Forty per cent of a probation area's budget is allocated to enforcement (NPS, 2001). Whilst enforcing orders may be about projecting an image of an organisation that protects the public by punishing offenders, it is also about protecting the public by assessing and managing risks of harm and re-offending presented by offenders (Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001; see Garland, 2001). Official talk is shrouded in rhetoric about punishment and giving offenders their 'just deserts' (Crow, 2001; Garland, 2001; see also Ashworth, Cavadino, Gibson, Harding, Rutherford, Seago and Whyte, 1992; Wasik and Taylor, 1991). Yet the overriding concern with risk to the public supersedes this rhetoric (Hudson, 2001a, 2001b, 2002; see for example Home Office, 2002a). If an offender does not make *any* contact with his case manager, then almost no assessment and management of risks can be carried out. This may negatively affect the probation service's image, as a legitimate organisation perceived to be protecting the public.

⁵⁵ This may include prison, although not always, because offences have to be 'so serious' to be afforded a custodial sentence (Gibson *et al.*, 1994:29; Wasik and Taylor, 1991:156; see Ward and Davies, 2004:365 in relation to the recent *Criminal Justice Act 2003*; see also Farrall, 2002; Mullender and Burton, 2001).

Hence, the official rhetoric about enforcing orders (see NPS, 2001). Achieving targets in enforcement places demands on case managers given the amount of contacts to be made with high numbers of offenders by so few probation officers (see also Humphrey and Pease, 1992). The next section considers how non-criminogenic needs and victims/survivors of domestic violence are perceived when managing offender risk.

5.3.5 Prioritising Risk Management: The Language of Welfare

Another example of the dominance of risk management rhetoric is related to the assessment and management of offenders' non-criminogenic needs (as opposed to criminogenic needs or rather dynamic risk 'factors'). All case managers viewed non-criminogenic needs as integral in some way to the smooth management of offenders throughout their court orders (see Chapman and Hough, 1998). Non-criminogenic needs then are part of risk discourse. However, non-criminogenic needs or welfare issues are not necessarily viewed as directly related to re-offending behaviours (Andrews and Bonta, 1994; Carlen and Worrall, 2004). In my study, they were spoken about by case managers as though they may indirectly increase the perceived risks of re-offending and harm posed by the offender. Two men in interviews suggested how their case manager provided them with advice about their problems in general and one man mentioned how his case manager had specifically helped him with a problem relating to his employment (perceivably a non-criminogenic need) (see also Calverley *et al.*, 2004, Mair and May, 1997). Janice, a case manager, illustrates this further.

Interviewer: *How come you are seeing him fortnightly once he's on the programme, won't that then be three contacts a week [more than National Standards' requires]?*

Respondent: Yeah, because we're not meant to let them just go to the programme and not keep in contact with them. Because the belief is that the probation officer [case manager] here in the office should be dealing with crisis issues. For example, if accommodation was an issue, or if they have an issue with their attendance at the programme and the completion of that, then we should be doing that and keep on top of it here so that they [the offender] take part in the programme without any issues [Janice, practitioner].

Janice continues to draw on official dominant risk discourse and the rhetoric of risk management. In her talk below, she suggests a hierarchy of work tasks with targeting non-criminogenic needs (welfare issues) preceded by enforcing orders, which the

official rhetoric suggests is about managing offenders' risks (see Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001 and above) and addressing criminogenic needs, which are the 'factors' related to offending behaviours (see chapter six). Janice implies that they are all tackled to ultimately enforce orders and thus manage risk.

[...] as a law enforcement officer and a probation officer enforcing an order of the court, we should be looking at offending behaviour rather than their welfare, which is the old school of thought [of probation practice] [Janice, practitioner].

Whilst still a plausible account to case managers of 'treating' offenders and an accepted practice within probation because of the potential impact on offenders' risks, considering offenders' welfare issues feature fairly low when prioritising tasks. Other research found that of 80 probation officers, only 18 (less than a quarter) mentioned that assisting with offender's welfare issues was a principal aim of individual supervision sessions (Burnett, 1996).

In terms of carrying out the primary task of case managers, managing domestic violence offenders' risks, including gathering information to assess the level of this is difficult (Kemshall, 1998). This is due somewhat, as Henry suggested above to the private and hidden nature of domestic violence (Mirrlees-Black, 1999). For this reason, victims/survivors of such abuse are often an important source of information about reduced, escalating and ongoing violence (Mullender and Burton, 2000; see for example Beattie, 1997). Their accounts facilitate the assessment and management of offenders' risks (RESPECT, 2004). For half of the case managers interviewed in my study they had no contact with the partners and ex-partners of the violent men. For case managers who did have contact with the female victim/survivor of the abuse, this was by telephone. Jack explains why women may be reluctant to talk to workers within the probation area. He illustrates the disjuncture between the much less dominant theme concerned with addressing welfare issues and the dominant discourse of risk, including talk about risk management and the enforcement of orders (see Home Office, 2002a).

Respondent: We have no contact [with partner and ex-partner].

Interviewer: *No contact?*

Respondent: It's a shame, but she might want to speak to me, she might not. See, traditionally, support services have always had a downer on probation [...] because most support services come from a social work background, then they're naturally suspicious of, I wouldn't say naturally that's the wrong word, but they are suspicious of the criminal justice system, which is unfortunate [...]. So they think we're out to nail people all the time and that's not strictly true [...] [Jack, practitioner].

Although, Jack provides his own explanation about why women may be reluctant to talk to workers in the probation area, there are alternative reasons suggested by feminists. Burton *et al.* (1998) indicate that women who are affected by domestic violence often do not seek support because the abuse isolates them. This in turn augments their fear. A woman may also not come forward with details of ongoing and escalating abuse, because of fear of reprisals from her partner or ex-partner if he were to find out she had been talking to the police and probation service. Moreover, women may fear the implications of any intervention, as Jack also implies above. For example, social services may remove children from an abusive home (Hester *et al.*, 2000).

Female victims/survivors of intimate violence do not seem to feature prominently in risk discourse and the rhetoric of risk management espoused within the domain of case management and the supervision of offenders in the community. They may appear more in knowledge about risk assessment. This is because probation officers often (but not always) have access to Police Witness Statements, which may include the victim's voice (see Burnett, 1996). The women's support service situated within the non-government agency and linked to the DVP seeks out women's accounts of violence as an aid to manage risks of violence by men. Programme workers use information about ongoing and escalating violence to attempt to assess, manage and reduce risks of the offender (see for example RESPECT, 2004). Section 5.4.4 below briefly touches upon this 'practitioners' talk'.⁵⁶ The following is primarily about programme talk and the dominance of risk discourse including *both* risk management and risk reduction rhetoric in this institutional domain.

⁵⁶ See chapter four about the use and exclusion of data relating to women's support service and men's partners and ex-partners: the female victims/survivors of domestic violence.

5.4 Programme Talk

Offending behaviour programmes have been considered in the official literature as aimed at *reducing* re-offending (Home Office, 1999a; NPS, 2001; see also Garland, 1997, 2001; Robinson and McNeill, 2004). Researchers (from both official and unofficial stances), evaluating domestic violence programmes, consider that they are aimed at *ending* the violent behaviours of those men who participate on them (Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Skyner and Waters, 1999). Even the official accredited domestic violence programme (IDAP), planned for implementation in 2005-2006, endorses the view that it aims to end men's violence (Home Office, 2004d). There is a disjuncture then between the current climate of dominant risk discourse and the use of rehabilitation discourse. The following section is about the domain of the programme in my study. It considers how the DVP manual, practitioners delivering this intervention, and men who participate on it, talk during the intervention about the dominant discourse of risk, including strategies about assessing, managing and reducing risks of violence and the harm presented.

5.4.1 The Domestic Violence Programme

The programme I studied was one year in duration. Men attended in phases that consisted of:

- (i) one introductory session of just under two hours; followed by
- (ii) one week of sessions amounting to twenty-three hours in actual group-work; then
- (iii) just over one week consisting of three sessions equating to five hours;
- (iv) weekly sessions for six weeks, amounting to just over ten hours; and finally,
- (v) five monthly sessions totalling eight hours.

Men were in group-work sessions over the course of the programme for about forty-eight hours. The underpinning theoretical framework of the programme combined cognitive-behavioural therapy (CBT) and feminist principles (see chapter two). The programme manual states, as did programme workers that the aim of the programme is

to help men end their violence.⁵⁷ One of the ways the programme manual suggests to do this is for men to practise non-abusive behaviours. Thus, rehabilitation discourse and the elimination of violence is accepted talk within this domain.

In an early group work session where men were becoming familiar with the programme, they were given a handout that suggested the programme was for them to learn how to stop their violence. The way this handout proceeded to inform men of how they would do this was couched more in language of risk, and the management and reduction of this, as opposed to a discourse on rehabilitation. Paraphrasing the programme manual, it suggested that it would show men how to:

- (i) recognise emotions and how to deal with them;
- (ii) identify and respond to initial warning signs [of anger];
- (iii) consider what they lose or gain by abuse [the risks and rewards]; and
- (iv) to consider strategies of safe action.

Feeley and Simon (1992:461) argue that the rhetoric of risk management means that criminal justice sanctions that are community-based can be viewed more in terms of ‘new penology’, as opposed to talk about rehabilitation. Exercises were thus carried out within the programme that focused on assessing, managing and reducing offenders’ risks. In doing so, a discourse of risk is also acceptable talk within the domain of the programme.

The domain of the programme is different then to that of case management discussed in the above section. This is because case managers practice within the confines of a managerialist approach that facilitates talk about risk management over and above that of risk reduction rhetoric, and indeed, outwith a discourse of rehabilitation (see chapter six). Programme workers operate within an institutional domain where both risk (including talk about risk management and risk reduction) and rehabilitation discourse flourish. The following considers the exercises in the programme that showed men how to assess, manage and reduce their risks of harm and violence that they present to their partners and ex-partners (chapter six discusses in more detail a discourse of rehabilitation operating in the programme domain).

⁵⁷ This ‘help’ is not synonymous with the help of the welfare-focused approach where the focus was not necessarily on offending behaviours (see chapter one).

5.4.2 Managing Intimate Violence: Assessing, Managing and Reducing Risks

Many of the initial exercises carried out during the week of group-work sessions were about assessing, managing and reducing risks of intimate violence posed by the offender. In one session, men were asked to assess their own risk of re-offending, identify risk 'factors' that increased the risk of violence, and consider strategies to manage the risk posed. All men suggested that they posed a risk of violence. The risk 'factors' identified by some of the nine men in group-work were alcohol, temper (i.e. anger), and depression (related to mental health).⁵⁸ Female partners were also viewed as a risk 'factor'. My observations of this session are recorded below.

1st Tuesday.⁵⁹ The group have been given a handout to complete. After considering the risk they present of committing further violence, men are asked to list the risk 'factors' linked to their violence. Men are also required to note things that aid them to remain under control; that is strategies that reduce their potential for violence.⁶⁰ They are given some time to complete this task, and then each man is asked about their risk 'factors' and how they are to deal with their violence. Risk 'factors' given by men include alcohol by two men, an inability to control temper suggested by three of the men, and depression put forward by one man. Five of the nine men in group-work at that time suggest a risk 'factor' for them was their partner arguing with them, or 'winding' them up. The strategies presented by men that would assist them in managing their violence include taking a 'time-out' mentioned by five men. Only three men used the terminology of a 'time-out', the two other men talked about removing themselves from the situation by going for a run, or a drive. With reference to the two men that mentioned alcohol as a risk 'factor', one man suggested he would manage this by controlling his drinking, whereas the other said he would have no alcohol. One man talked about thinking before he acted violently. Another man said he would not see his ex-partner, and similarly one man said he would not have an intimate partner in his life.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Two men missed this session.

⁵⁹ The exact date is not given to avoid identifying the programme and those involved with it. Full and accurate names of exercises are also not provided for this same reason. For purposes of clarity, given that there were a number of Tuesdays when men attended the group-work sessions, and where extracts have been drawn from and documented in this part of the chapter, a number has been assigned to illustrate which Tuesday it was (and similarly for other days of the week).

⁶⁰ Men are not referred to by their pseudonyms in programme talk. This is to ensure their anonymity, especially given that pseudonyms are used in the extracts presented from their one-to-one interviews with myself (see below section 'men's talk').

⁶¹ The number of risk 'factors' and strategies to manage risk exceeds the number of men in the group, because some of the men suggested more than one risk factor.

Two men (both of whom were court-mandated) mentioned that alcohol was a risk ‘factor’ that increased their risk of violence. They suggested that in order to manage their risk of violence, they would either control their alcohol intake or not drink alcohol at all. Their talk appears similar to case managers. For example, in the above section ‘practitioners’ talk’, Denis’ talk implies alcohol as a dynamic risk ‘factor’ that impacts on the risk of re-offending and harm presented by the offender to his partner or ex-partner. Denis does not mention alcohol as a criminogenic need requiring ‘treatment’ so that offending behaviour is eliminated (as might be referred to in rehabilitation discourse, see chapter six). The two court-mandated men in the group-work session also do not mention this, as illustrated by the above extract. Denis works in an institutional domain of case management that is dominated by risk discourse and the rhetoric of risk management. Court-mandated men would have been exposed to this talk about risk ‘factors’ like alcohol increasing the risks of violence in their individual supervision sessions with their case managers before (especially in assessment), during and after the programme (see for instance Appendix E).

Men are shown via DVP group-work exercises how to assess and manage their own risk ‘factors’ in order to manage and reduce their abusive behaviours. Simply being exposed to this dominant discourse of risk does not guarantee that men talk about it. There are investments for men to talk this way (see Hollway, 1998). The following section considers the investments for men to position and speak from within a dominant discourse of risk.

5.4.3 Positioning in Risk Discourse: External Constraints and Spoiling the ‘Self’

It is important to explore what is missing from men’s talk in the above extract (i.e. what the men could have spoken about but did not at this stage). The two men might have mentioned seeking ‘treatment’ for their alcohol problem (some men did mention this at other phases in the programme documented below). As implied above, they may have then viewed alcohol as a criminogenic need requiring ‘treatment’ to end their violence. During the initial assessment process, these men would have also been exposed to the idea that they require ‘treatment’ for their alcohol consumption (see Appendix E and chapter six). The men in the above extract suggest abstaining from alcohol or controlling their intake of it, because it is something *they* can manage. There is little investment for men to talk about further presumably unwanted intervention into their

lives than they consider necessary, for fear that they may have to attend such intervention and address personal issues that are underlying their alcohol problem; the very core of their criminogenic needs (see for example Russell, 1995 and chapter six). There is also investment for men to suggest that alcohol is a 'factor' in their violence because it distances their responsibility for abusive behaviours (see Hearn, 1998a; Morran, 1996; see also Stanko, 1994). There is self-interest (see Bottoms, 2001) then in using risk discourse. As Bottoms (2001) suggests in his understanding of compliant behaviour, individuals comply with community penalties because of self-interest. In a similar way, men may blame their partners and ex-partners for the violence, like five of the nine men in the above extract, because it avoids blaming themselves (see Hearn, 1998a). In doing so, it presents a positive image of the 'self' (see Goffman, 1968, 1971).

The strategies of abstaining from alcohol and taking 'time-outs' to manage and possibly reduce violence are acceptable accounts in the DVP. This is because of the use of risk discourse, which includes the assessment, management and reduction of risks, within this institutional domain. For instance, when men suggest taking a 'time-out' they may imply that anger is responsible for violence. By taking a 'time-out' men suggest they are managing and reducing their anger and thus their violence (as the above extract implies). Alternatively, when men suggest taking a 'time-out' to manage and reduce risks of violence, they might be implying that they are responsible for their abuse because their talk may indicate that they are choosing to walk away from an abusive situation (see men's talk in interviews below). Accepting responsibility for violence is one of the objectives of the DVP (see chapter six). Thus, by talking about taking a 'time-out' to manage and reduce violence, men are suggesting that they are *dealing with* their abusive behaviours in an acceptable way. They are presenting themselves to be assessing, managing and reducing the risks of harm to their partners and ex-partners via a technique taught on the DVP.

Other exercises that were shown in the programme that espoused risk management/reduction rhetoric were those that had men weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of their abusive behaviours. Deterrence theories rest on the premise of increasing costs and decreasing the benefits of crime (see Clarke, 1980; Cornish and Clarke, 1986). This weighing up of risks and rewards by men in group-work sessions is

targeted at men so that they begin to manage and potentially reduce the risk of harm and violence that they pose. What these exercises also do, unwittingly, is to show men the investments to be gained in positioning themselves in particular discourses. For instance, in the week of group-work sessions, men were intensely interviewed in front of the group by a programme worker about the violent incident that had brought them to the programme. During this exercise, three court-mandated men talked about the costs for them of their abusive behaviours in the way of 'external constraints'. Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis (2000:163) suggest that 'external constraints' include sanctions from the criminal justice system. Some of the men in Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis' (2000) study, spoke about these 'factors' as costs of violence. My observation notes explain this in relation to the men in my study.

1st Wednesday. During this exercise [where men are intensely interviewed by a programme worker about the violent incident that brought them to the programme] men are asked about the consequences of their violence. Three men mentioned the possibility of facing a prison sentence. One man, for instance, suggested that he 'came close to prison', another said that prison would be a consequence for him, whereas one other man said that he recognised that he 'could be doing a five year stretch'.

A similar exercise was carried out during the once weekly sessions with the focus not specifically on individual men in the group, but on men and violence in general. Roberts and Baim (1999:231) have referred to this way of working as 'one step removed'. During this exercise one man touched upon the notion of a damaged 'self'.

6th Monday. Noting men's replies about disadvantages of arguing in an abusive manner, one man mentioned that men [in general] would have 'no real friends' because they would be 'portrayed as nasty'.

These two investments of external constraints (i.e. the possibility of further invasive intervention into their lives) and damaging the 'self' (i.e. presenting a negative image to others and themselves) are therefore reasons to consider how men position and speak from within certain discourses and outwith others. These accounts are likely to be accepted within the over-arching context of the probation area because they espouse dominant risk discourse about managing and reducing risks of violence. Yet Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis (2000:163) suggest that men in their study, who spoke about 'internal controls', such as realising the impact of their violence on others, were

more likely to talk about change and an end to their violent behaviours, compared to the men who mentioned costs of violence in the way of external constraints (see also Gondolf, 1988, 2000b and chapter six).

Men's accounts about the threat of a custodial sentence as a reason for managing and reducing their violence are likely to be accepted by practitioners because enforcing court orders is a main priority for the probation service (NPS, 2001). During the induction to their court order, offenders were made aware of the consequences of failing to comply with an order of the court (see Home Office, 2002a). This includes details about revocation of current orders and re-sentencing for the original offence (see Office of Public Sector Information, 2003; see also Hedderman and Hough, 2004). This may, but not always involve the imposition of a custodial sentence (see Farrall, 2002; Mullender and Burton, 2001).

Men's replies in group-work sessions can be understood further in terms of the investments they have in deploying certain discourses. During the once weekly sessions, men were asked about the gains of abusive behaviours. Men responded in a general way, at 'one step removed', as opposed to specifically referring to their own situations. They suggested that by arguing abusively men achieved what they wanted in the relationship (i.e. a position of dominance). My observation notes explain.

6th Monday. When asked about the advantages of arguing in an abusive manner, one man mentioned that men [in general] would 'get their own way', whereas another man suggested that men [in general] 'become number one', that is, they are 'not to be questioned'.

Feminist perspectives on intimate violence encapsulate these gains from violent behaviours (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Dobash and Dobash (1979, 1984) suggest that men use violent behaviours to gain and maintain control over women in intimate relationships. In doing so, men acquire power and privilege in the relationship. As a position for men to invest in, feminism serves both investment and no investment. It serves little or no investment for men because positioning themselves accordingly means that men maybe viewed by others and perhaps by themselves as sexist and claiming power. This may subsequently spoil the 'self' or the perception of this to others (see Sykes and Matza, 1957). Conversely, men may invest in talking like

this because it reaffirms their dominant masculine status and their superiority as men (see Hearn, 1998a; see also Connell, 1987, 1995).

The investments for men to position and speak from within feminist tenets can vary between the different institutional domains in my study. Some men drew on feminist tenets in the programme sessions, albeit some spoke in a general way as opposed to referring to their own 'selves' (as illustrated by the above extract). Even though it appears men may be criticising themselves, there is investment for them to speak from within feminism in the domain of a feminist based perpetrator programme. This is because their accounts are likely to be accepted by the listeners (i.e. practitioners), since they are considered to be providing the 'right' replies by 'talking programme talk' (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000:171; see also Burton *et al.*, 1998) in the appropriate institutional domain. This talk suggests that (namely court-ordered) men are complying with the additional requirement of their court orders: the DVP. Such responses may be mentioned much less in the institutional domain of case management, where a case manager supervises an offender throughout the court order. This is because case managers rhetorically aim to reduce risks of re-offending and minimise risks of harm in order to protect the public (Home Office, 2002a). Men talking about committing violence because it reinforces dominant masculine identities (see Hearn, 1998a) may be viewed as engendering further abuse (see Connell, 1987, 1995).⁶² This talk illustrated in the above extract, does not necessarily indicate that men accept responsibility and blame for their violence, because they are talking from a 'one step removed' viewpoint. The next chapter considers this in more detail, elaborating upon when and how men provide more acceptable accounts in the programme, particularly relating to rehabilitation discourse, during the 'one step removed' way of working. As mentioned, it is a feminist perspective that suggests men must own their abusive behaviours to engage in the process of changing to end their violence (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). What will also become clearer in the next chapter is the less dominant nature of feminist thinking (particularly about men owning violence) within the domain of case management.

⁶² This may not be the case if men are critical of this. Like the man talking in the second extract shown above in this section

In keeping with this dominance of risk discourse espoused in the institutional domain of case management and emanating throughout the programme, men were required in the last monthly session to consider strategies of safe action for the future. My observation notes explain.

6th Tuesday. During this last session of the whole programme, men were asked about their plans for safe action in the future. Three of the five men in the group-work suggested that they needed to either 'keep on top of [alcohol]'; to manage alcohol by for example, 'sticking to weak beer'; and 'not to go on the pop ['street' talk for alcohol]' and if need be, to attend a community-based intervention [where 'treatment' could be sought for alcohol abuse].⁶³ One man mentioned to 'control [his] temper' by 'using 'time-out''. One man also indicated that he would carry out 'positive thinking'; another to think about seeing a counsellor about his underlying problems; and one said to use problem-solving techniques to 'deal with issues' [that he may have].⁶⁴

Carrying out a plan of action can be seen as a risk management/reduction exercise. Some of the men's responses about managing alcohol, controlling temper, 'positive thinking' and problem solving illustrate risk management/reduction strategies. For example, during the problem solving process the offender might understand the consequences of his actions (see McGuire, 2000), which is part of a risk management exercise (see above). A plan of action can also be seen as an exercise to possibly end men's violence. For instance, men suggested attending a 'treatment' programme for alcohol abuse and seeing a counsellor. These imply 'treating' criminogenic needs to change attitudes and behaviours. Moreover, 'positive thinking' or 'self-talk' (about switching negative thoughts to positive ones so that emotions and behaviour are affected) and problem-solving techniques can also be viewed as comprising part of rehabilitation discourse. Problem solving initially requires the offender to be aware that he has a problem.⁶⁵ This might involve accepting responsibility and blame for abusive behaviours, which may initiate the process of changing to end violence (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). The above extract therefore illustrates men using both risk

⁶³ At this stage in the programme, seven men were attending the group. Five of these men attended this session.

⁶⁴ The strategies provided exceed the number of men in the group because men often suggested more than one plan of action.

⁶⁵ The technique of problem solving is quite a generic and broad skill. It can encompass aspects of other skills such as 'time-outs' and 'self-talk' (see for example McGuire, 2000; see also chapter two). The coding illustrated in Appendix D relating to the theme 'problem solving' suggests talk about this process, and as such, narratives may include talk about other skills (e.g. 'self-talk').

and rehabilitation discourses to talk about how they will ‘treat’ their future violent behaviours. For this reason, their accounts are acceptable within the institutional domain of the programme.

To summarise this section, the men are shown to be deploying a discourse of risk, drawn from group-work exercises and possibly from other institutional domains such as that of assessment and case management. The programme workers also use a dominant risk discourse about assessing, managing and reducing men’s risk of violence, picked-up from both the programme manual and the over-arching ethos of the organisations in which they work. This is because programme workers, particularly probation workers, are also exposed to and influenced by the official rhetoric of state publications like that of *National Standards* (see Home Office, 2002a). The following section is not so much ‘programme talk’ but rather ‘practitioners’ talk’ because it illustrates practitioners’ use of a dominant risk discourse, particularly risk management rhetoric, outside the programme domain. This talk is referring to the perpetrator programme, hence its inclusion here in this section (and not in the above section ‘practitioners’ talk’).

5.4.4 Using Women’s Support to Assess and Manage Risk via the Programme

The women’s support service is linked to the DVP in my study. This service was provided as a setting where the partners and ex-partners of men on the programme could seek advice and support about the abuse they had experienced, or were continuing to receive (see also Burton *et al.*, 1998). One practitioner explains how the women’s support service facilitates the management of men’s risk of violence through the DVP.

They [programme workers] don’t approach a [violent] man on an individual basis [with information from women’s support service], no. Because that would put a woman at risk, because he [the violent man] would know where that information had come from and she might be coming in secret [to women’s support] [...]. But yes, as far as information goes I think a lot of the time the men’s workers will keep that information in the back of their heads and when an opportunity arises they’ll challenge it in a very general way [in the programme]. So, they [programme workers] know what’s going on. You see a man could be saying one thing in a group and then we get another story from the woman, and they [programme workers] need to know that because he could be saying, ‘everything’s hunky-dory, we had a bit of an argument last week but that’s okay, everything’s fine now’. And then, she might come and say, ‘he knocked her black and blue and she had to call the police,

because she thought he was going to kill her.’ Very different stories aren’t they [Anna, practitioner]?

One other worker talked about risk management practices to deal with men’s perceived risk of abuse via the DVP. Although it appeared that small numbers of women sought advice and support from the women’s support service in my study (see also Burton *et al.*, 1998), the women’s support part of the programme, like case management, is also a domain where risk discourse is used.

The following part of the chapter considers further the use of dominant risk discourse about the assessment, management and reduction of risks of harm and violence spoken by men in interviews I carried out with them. This talk is ‘men’s talk’. In presenting it, the following also considers the acceptability of their accounts within the varying institutional domains of assessment, case management and the programme. This entails a discussion about the investments for men to use such narratives in these particular domains. The following considers whether accounts are provided to avoid damaging the image of the ‘self’ and whether they may serve to deflect further unwanted intervention into men’s lives by the criminal justice system.

5.5 Men’s Talk⁶⁶

In-depth semi-structured interviews were carried out with ten men at the beginning of the programme (1st interviews), eight men mid-way into the programme (2nd interviews), and seven men after the programme (3rd interviews).⁶⁷ By the time I came to interview the men initially, they had talked about their violence many times to others including police, solicitors, magistrates and probation officers (see Hearn, 1998a). Men talked during interviews about managing and reducing risks of violence. Few men also

⁶⁶ Most of men’s talk presented is from men who were court-ordered to attend the programme. As such, case managers within the institutional domain of case management supervised these men. The main reason why little of the talk from men who had ‘self-referred’ to the programme is not presented is that two out of three of these men attended only the first four months of the programme. In doing so, they took part in only the initial part of the research.

⁶⁷ ‘At the beginning of the programme’ means before programme sessions commenced, after the introductory session, and up to the fourth day of the week of sessions. Where men were interviewed after the programme sessions had commenced, this has been taken into account in the analysis and presentation of data in this (and the next) chapter, particularly when considering men’s exposure to certain themes and concepts in the programme.

spoke in interviews about changing their attitudes to change behaviour, which is part of rehabilitation discourse. This is considered in more detail in chapter six.

5.5.1 Managing and Un-Managing Risks: The Rewards of Violence

Some men talked about their violence as a decision-making process that implied weighing-up the risks and rewards. Although, the cost and benefits of men's violence have been discussed above in the section 'programme talk', they are revisited here because, as suggested in the introduction to this chapter, men speak from within certain discourses and outwith others because of the investments this serves for them (see Hollway, 1998). These investments are linked to whether the account is likely to be accepted. This acceptance, in turn, varies according to the different domains in which talk is used (see also Scott and Lyman, 1968).

In initial interviews nine of the ten men suggested that they were choosing or not choosing violence for some reason, as the following extract suggests.⁶⁸

Respondent: I've never been in a fight in school. I socialise on a regularly basis. I've never been involved in a fight in a pub, a fight in the street; I don't do that type of thing. For some reason it was in the home.

Interviewer: *Do you know why?*

Respondent: Probably it was a way of stopping the argument [Steven, offender, 1st interview].

Steven, like five other men in these interviews, implies gaining from his violence. Some feminists consider the gain that is illustrated in the above extract as power and control (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). In the above section 'programme talk', other men deployed similar accounts about the advantages of abusive behaviours. In 'programme talk', men's accounts were analysed through a feminist lens because the institutional domain where the account was used, the perpetrator programme, espoused feminist tenets. The analysis I initially put forward here of Steven's talk is different (in order to consider the use of discourses throughout and within domains). This analysis is one from a risk management perspective. As suggested above, this discourse is widely circulated and deployed by case managers within the institutional domain of case

⁶⁸ One man declined to be initially interviewed.

management (see for example Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001). Considering Steven's account of violence from this perspective then, he implies failing to manage the risks of violence and harm that he presents to his partner or ex-partner. As such, his talk may be infrequently used in the domain of case management (and Steven is a court-mandated man and is subject to supervision by a case manager).

Steven has assessed his risk of violence to be particularly apparent within the home (as opposed to another physical context). He appears to accept some responsibility and blame for his abusive behaviours (which is the aim of the DVP). His talk then may be an investment for him if it were deployed in the domain of the programme. This is because despite failing to manage his risks of violence, he has drawn on an acceptable feminist perspective of why men commit intimate violence: to gain a position of power in the relationship (see Dobash and Dobash, 1979, 1984; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000).

Two men in third and final interviews also talked about failing to manage the risks of violence they posed. This had resulted in increased contacts with their case managers.

Interviewer: *And when you come and see your case manager, you've been seeing him [pause] [...], once a month you've been seeing him?*

Respondent: Except one month where I had to go every week, because I went back to the house [where his partner or ex-partner lived] kicking off [being abusive], but not purposely. I walked through the street [where the house was]; I was a bit drunk [...] [Tony, offender, 3rd interview].

Tony indicates failing to comply with some of the aims of his court order, which are to reduce violence and the risks of harm to his partner or ex-partner. He suggests that this has led to increased contact with his case manager. This is so that his case manager can monitor, on a more frequent basis, the possibility of an increased risk of violence to his partner or ex-partner (see Home Office, 2002a).

In contrast to Steven's quote above, Tony has not drawn on gain as an explanation for his violence rather he suggests alcohol was responsible. His account may well be accepted in the domain of case management. This is because, as mentioned, case managers sometimes view alcohol as a dynamic risk 'factor', which may increase the risk of a

violent offender. During the increased contact with his case manager, Tony's alcohol use will have been monitored as a potential risk 'factor' (see chapter six). Tony may have used this latter part of the account about being drunk because in his confession of going back to the house and being abusive, he has spoiled the 'self'. To mend this, he suggests he was drunk. He has excused his violence by placing responsibility for it onto alcohol (see Hearn, 1998a; Morran, 1996). Such talk is thought to be less likely to be accepted in a feminist based perpetrator programme because feminists like Stanko (1994) consider that men use such accounts to deflect responsibility for abusive behaviours, instead of talking about their own intentional use of violence. However, the above section programme talk suggested that such accounts might be accepted during the programme in my study because of the use of risk discourse in this domain. The next chapter considers this in more detail.

In contrast to both Tony's and Steven's accounts, some men spoke about not committing violence by managing and reducing their risks of violence. They suggest they were deterred from acting violently. The following section considers these accounts.

5.5.2 Managing and Reducing Risks: Deterrence

Men spoke in interviews about how they 'interrupt' violence (see Gondolf, 1988, 2000b). One of the ways men do this is illustrated through their use of the technique 'self-talk'. 'Self-talk' was touched upon briefly in the above section 'programme talk' where one man mentioned using it to suggest how he would manage his risks of violence (see section 5.4.3). 'Self-talk' is covered here in more detail. This is because more men appeared to be drawing on the technique when they spoke in interviews to suggest how they manage and reduce their risks of violence than in the programme domain (despite the technique being taught in the programme). In the second batch of interviews with men, four of the eight men interviewed talked about changing their negative thoughts into positive ones in the hope that this will effect their emotions and their violent behaviours (see Scourfield and Dobash, 1999). Whilst their strategies are 'self-talk', men did not use this programme term in their accounts. For example, the same man who suggested using 'positive thinking' in programme talk to manage and reduce his risks of violence also spoke in his second interview about this.

Respondent: [...] I am thinking more logically. I guess before I was too impatient with everybody.

Interviewer: *So how do you do that then? How do you not become stressful, or not be impatient, how has the programme showed you to do that?*

Respondent: Have a positive thought, and positive thought, positive action. And it does work. If you have a bad thought, you may or may not have a bad action or reaction. It certainly helps if you get the negative first, try and think of something [positive], or what could be gained if I did that, so as not to do it [negative behaviour] [John, offender, 2nd interview].

In the above extract, John is explaining how ‘self-talk’ may manage and reduce (possibly end, see below) his violent behaviours by interrupting the flow of negative emotions and bad behaviours. This technique is a key component of CBT (McGuire, 2000). Spurred on by the ‘what works’ agenda, CBT is dominantly used in offending behaviour programmes (Mair, 2000a, 2004a; see chapter two) including the DVP which John attended. ‘Self-talk’ has been seen as a method to interrupt the risks of violence (Gondolf, 1988, 2000b), and possibly a way of changing attitudes and behaviours to end violence (see for example McGuire, 2000). The latter refers to rehabilitation discourse. By drawing on the technique of ‘self-talk’ that encompasses both dominant risk, with notions of both risk management and risk reduction strategies, and less dominant rehabilitation discourse, John can author an account that is acceptable throughout the over-arching context of the organisation in which he is ‘treated’.

Peter recounts a different application of ‘self-talk’:

Respondent: [...] and then I went upstairs, and I thought, I probably went to drag her out of bed and down the stairs.

Interviewer: *You had that in your mind to do that?*

Respondent: Yeah. And then I got up there, and just looked and thought my little one’s there [child], no. I went [away], which were probably a good idea. It’s probably the calmest thing I’ve done [Peter, offender, 1st interview].

Peter may not realise what he did as ‘self-talk’ because he was interviewed before this technique was specifically shown in the programme (albeit he may have heard of this strategy when he was introduced to the domestic violence programme by the NGO).

‘Self-talk’ or self-instructional training, as illustrated in the programme, show men how to act on a stimulus, such as a partner or ex-partner, in the environment by stopping and altering any negative thoughts they may have about the stimulus (see Ganley, 1981; McGuire, 2000). According to CBT, this will effect emotions and subsequent behaviours (Scourfield and Dobash, 1999). Peter suggests this in his above account since it appears he was deterred by the probable costs to his child of witnessing violence. In speaking like this, he has provided a plausible account and possibly an accepted one particularly if it were spoken within the domain of the programme, because he suggests, by his account, managing and reducing his risks of violence using a technique taught on the programme.

Another way eight of the men talk in first interviews about managing the risks of violence (and thereby reducing the likelihood of it re-occurring) is by suggesting they avoided its opportunities. Mark explains this below.

Interviewer: *Why don't you live with her anymore?*

Respondent: Because this is my thing, I want to get this sorted out so that we don't crop up again. And you know, with us being apart a bit, we're like rekindling, we're getting some of the love and respect back for each other [...], we're having some good times together. We're having the happy times instead of the sad times, and it's working, it's working.

Interviewer: *That's because you're living apart then?*

Respondent: Yeah. Also, because we've got this little bit of space between us we can talk about the problems in a more civilised fashion. And I know perhaps if I was at home, some of the problems that have been occurring might have gone into a nasty violent argument between us, but because we're apart [...] we're able to talk about them in a more civilised manner. And so, I think obviously when I do eventually go back home, if I can carry that through and anything that I gain from this [domestic violence] programme, I think it's going to be good [Mark, offender, 1st interview].

Mark's account makes sense to him, for he is making sense of it as he speaks. Moreover, the account is acceptable to the wider criminal justice system. This man was initially interviewed approximately three months into his court order. This order, like other men's in the study, had requirements attached to it, which stipulated that he was not to reside with or at the residence of his partner or ex-partner. He was also not allowed to be on or near the premises where she lived. Mark has great investment then in this account because in it he suggests he is managing and reducing the risk of violence that he poses

to his partner or ex-partner in the way the courts deemed necessary. He appears, according to his narrative, to comply with his court order. In doing so, he has presented an unspoiled 'self', despite the admittance that if he were at home violence may occur. This is because the risk of possible violence, which Mark implies, has been managed and reduced by him not being at home. The next section continues with this theme of drawing on dominant and legitimised discourse of risk by men denouncing violence.

5.5.3 Affirming Risk Discourse: Denouncing Violence

Men were re-interviewed six months after their first interviews. This was half way through the perpetrator programme. In these interviews (and in others), men use risk discourse by denouncing violence. This suggests that men do not wish to commit abusive behaviours.⁶⁹ Seven men mentioned this. One of them was Steven.

[...] if there's somebody else there to argue and shout with, you wouldn't want the person there, you wouldn't want a relationship like that. I wouldn't! I don't want to yell and shout at anybody. I don't think it gets anybody anywhere [...] [Steven, offender, 2nd interview].

Steven is drawing on a discourse of risk and the rhetoric of risk management by speaking from within feminist views on why men commit intimate violence. Note Steven's previous quote in the above section 5.5.1, when he talks about acting violently for gain. In the account directly above, he also deploys feminist tenets but by suggesting there is no gain for violence, since he says '[...] I don't think it gets anybody anywhere [...]' (see also Dobash, Cavanagh, Dobash and Lewis, 2000 for similar accounts provided by some of the men in their study, post-programme). Some feminists, as suggested, consider that men use violence to gain control over their partners and ex-partners (Dobash and Dobash, 1979). If so, then there would be no gain in men's violence if the risks outweighed the gains. For example, if men receive a custodial sentence as a penalty for

⁶⁹ Accounts that were coded as 'denouncing abuse' often overlapped with other themes such as 'not choosing' violence because of risk (exemplified by the above extract), 'techniques' (see Appendix F for an example), 'belief in change/wants help' and 'changes ongoing'. These latter two concepts and the notion of ending abuse are discussed further in the next chapter in programme talk and men's talk. Suffice to say here that some men thought that some of the techniques that they had learnt could assist them in not being violent, or that the 'help' in general that they were getting from interventions would achieve this (such 'help' is not synonymous with that of the welfare-focused approach). Additionally, men's desire not to want to act violently was thought about as a process of changes to be made. Thus, since talk about denouncing abuse does not necessarily illustrate changing thoughts about women in relationships to support an end to violence, it is considered more as a risk management/reduction strategy.

their violence they fail to gain from their violence, since they would appear to have lost some control over their partner and ex-partner. This notion merits some more discussion about ‘external constraints’, discussed initially in the above section ‘programme talk’ as a risk of men’s violence (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000:163).

The risks of violence for Steven, who, as mentioned, is court-mandated to attend the programme, may be further unwanted intervention into his life. This may possibly mean prison (Steven was one of the men who talked about this in programme talk, see chapter section 5.4.3 above). He has investments to fervently denounce violence and suggest that he does not want to abuse again. Steven constructs a positive image of the ‘self’ that indicates he presents a low risk of committing future violence because there is no reward for him to do so (though as suggested he previously said in his first interview at the beginning of his court order that there was reward for him to use violence). He implies that he has assessed, managed and reduced his own risk of violence. He appears to comply with his community sentence that seeks to ‘reduce the likelihood of re-offending’ and ‘minimise risk of harm to the public’ (Home Office, 2002a:C2). This includes Steven’s partner or ex-partner. His account is both plausible since it appears to make sense to Steven, and acceptable to the wider organisation because of the dominant risk discourse he has drawn on.

There is investment for Steven and the other men to talk about managing and reducing violence because of the threat and fear of external constraints. What would strengthen their affirmation of talking about a dominant and legitimised discourse of risk would be to suggest through risk management strategies how they minimise the risks of harm and re-offending that they pose. For instance, some men drew on ‘programme talk’ to illustrate in interviews how they were using the technique of ‘self-talk’. Some men also drew on ‘programme talk’ to suggest how they were applying the programme technique of ‘time-out’. The following section discusses this.

5.5.4 Risk Management and Risk Reduction: ‘Time-Outs’

‘Time-outs’ were touched upon in the above section ‘programme talk’. They are revisited to consider how men’s accounts were deployed outside of the programme domain and in the domain of men’s talk (thereby considering the use of discourse throughout and within domains). Although some men talked about strategies that were

synonymous with a 'time-out', they did not use this term in first interviews (see for example Steven's quote in Appendix F, point number 5).⁷⁰ It was in second and third interviews that men said 'time-out'. This may be because the language of the programme gave a name to the strategy (see for example Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). For instance, in second interviews, four of the seven men used the term 'time-out' to describe how they managed and reduced their risks of violence. The remaining three men, whilst they may not have said 'time-out' used other phrases such as 'backing off from being physical', 'walking away from an argument', and 'walk[ing] out of the house' (see also Dobash, Cavanagh, Dobash and Lewis, 2000; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Tony explains.

I've tried 'time-out' but it's still being carried on [the argument]. The only way to stop it is to get that one better [win the argument or be violent]. I would say that's how it was. But now, it's like to have the 'time-out' and make a bit more space, because it was still in the same room [previously], it was still there [tension]. If you leave the room and go back in, there's always a bit of fresh air when you walk back in [...] [Tony, offender, 2nd interview].

Tony strengthens the acceptability of his account by saying how he had initially used 'time-out' and how it had failed to manage his abuse. By talking from a perspective of un-managing violence to managing violence, there is an augmented and sought after (by the organisation) difference between before and after intervention (or in this case during the programme because he is talking in a second interview). It appears that Tony has drawn on programme talk to recount how he has managed his violent behaviours. Men have been shown such techniques in the programme, despite the intervention aiming to end men's violence by changing attitudes and behaviours. Tony has deployed the dominant and legitimised risk discourse operating within the programme and throughout the wider institution of an area of the NPS, and this is irrespective of whether he is using the strategy in his life and whether it does manage and reduce his actual violence. Tony talked in his last (third) interview about failing to manage his risk of violence, which led to increased contacts with his case manager, suggested in the section 5.5.1 above. Tony may have used 'time-out', but as implied in this chapter and throughout the thesis, 'time-

⁷⁰ These men were interviewed before this technique was shown on the programme.

out' is a risk management/reduction strategy, aiming to reduce violence, not end it (see Gondolf, 2000b). Hence Tony's admission of further abuse.

This study rests on the premise that knowledge about the extent of violent behaviours is uncertain (see Strinati, 1992 and chapter four). Whilst the organisations, particularly the probation area and case managers involved in managing the risks of violence from dangerous offenders may seek absolute knowledge about the occurrence of violence, they can only draw on men's talk about this (Hearn, 1998a; Morran, 1996) or women who are not always accessible (see Burton *et al.*, 1998). The dominant discourse, which comes from within the organisations to begin with, filtered down from government and the National Probation Directorate, is circulated where offenders may possibly draw on it. The probation area is showing men, whether knowingly or unknowingly, to 'talk the talk' (see for example Burton *et al.*, 1998:30; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; see also Hearn, 1998a who suggests that violent men may retell accounts of violence drawing on practitioners' narratives). This is not to suggest that men always deploy this dominant discourse, for they do not. Chapter six shows how some men draw on rehabilitation discourse, particularly within the domain of the programme, to talk about their violence. Men mostly use, but not always, a dominant and official discourse of risk. As this section has illustrated, their use of discourse may vary because of the investments that positioning and speaking from within discourses serves for them throughout and within the different institutional domains in which they talk.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented some of the findings from my study. It has discussed how practitioners and intimately violent men use the official (and unofficial) rhetoric to talk about how to 'treat' offenders in terms of a discourse of risk. It has suggested how practitioners use official risk discourse to talk about the assessment, management and possibly reduction of intimately violent offenders' risks of harm and violence. It has illustrated how practitioners deploy this discourse by drawing on the over-arching ethos of the probation area in which they work, from the perceived 'evidence-based' assessment tools that they use to attempt to measure risk, and from the DVP manual. Violent men who have been exposed to the assessment process, supervision sessions with case managers, and the DVP have it appears also deployed this legitimised

discourse of risk. They did this by talking about their own assessment, management and reduction of their risks of intimate violence.

Practitioners and violent men similarly deployed a discourse of risk. They did this in different ways (see also Hearn, 1998a). Some case managers talked about their contacts with the offender as supervision sessions where they assessed and managed ‘factors’ like an offender’s intake of alcohol in order to manage offenders’ risks of violence. Programme workers applied risk discourse drawing on the programme manual to show violent men techniques like taking a ‘time-out’ to assess, manage and reduce risks of violence. Intimately violent men talked about assessing, managing and reducing their own risks by using techniques like ‘time-out’ or monitoring their own consumption of alcohol. It appears that case managers primarily talked about risk management strategies, the programme (including programme workers) and violent men talked about using risk management *and* risk reduction techniques to manage and reduce risks of re-offending.

These individuals have presented accounts that have been considered as plausible, since they make sense to the speaker, and acceptable by the listener. The acceptability of accounts varies throughout and within domains (see Scott and Lyman, 1968). A risk discourse deployed in the domains of assessment, case management and the programme is likely to be accepted because of the dominant forms of knowledge that this discourse contains about how to ‘treat’ offenders in the NPS. Such knowledge is often thought to be ‘evidence-based’ and driven by the official ‘what works’ guidelines about how to reduce re-offending behaviours in terms of assessing, managing and reducing offenders’ risks (see Chapman and Hough, 1998; McGuire, 2000; see also Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001). This knowledge underpins the design and implementation of assessment tools such as OASys (see Home Office, 2002b, 2003c), offenders’ individual supervision sessions (see Home Office, 2002a), and exercises carried out in group-work sessions on the programme. Practitioners and intimately violent men thus drew on this official risk discourse from within the institutional domains of the assessment, case management and the programme.

This chapter illustrated that exposure to such dominant rhetoric does not necessarily mean that individuals will draw on it. Individuals position and speak from within

discourses because of the investments for them to do so (Hollway, 1998). Case managers position and speak from within risk discourse by drawing on the official rhetoric, like that of the 'what works' guidelines about the assessment, management and reduction of re-offending behaviours (see Chapman and Hough, 1998; see also Home Office, 2002a). By doing this, they may be viewed as upholding the dominant organisational themes of policy and practice (see Hearn, 1998a, 1998b). They appear then to be 'doing their job'. This chapter suggested that case managers talked more about the management, including assessment of risks of re-offending and harm, as opposed to the reduction of these risks. Case managers talked about monitoring offenders' risks in a minimal way. There are investments for case managers to talk more about risk management than risk reduction. The demands of a managerialist approach, such as making frequent contacts with high numbers of offenders, limit case managers in the time that they have available to supervise offenders (see also Humphrey and Pease, 1992). This focuses talk more on managing offenders' risks as opposed to reducing them.

In seeking to understand how intimately violent men also deployed this discourse of risk, the chapter suggested that whilst men are exposed to such rhetoric in the institutional domains in which they are 'treated', there are also investments for them to, whether knowingly or unintentionally, use dominant risk discourse. The investments for men are to avoid the imposition of further criminal justice sanctions, such as prison (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000) by suggesting compliance with their current court orders (see Bottoms, 2001) and presenting an unspoiled image of the 'self' (see Goffman, 1968, 1971).

The concept of spoiling the 'self' is also linked to notions of blame and responsibility. When men use risk discourse they may not accept responsibility for violence. For example, when men talk about taking a 'time-out' to manage and reduce anger they may imply that anger is responsible for violence. Conversely, talking about taking a 'time-out' may indicate that men are choosing to walk away from an abusive situation. This then implies *some* responsibility for the abuse (although the offender may still blame the victim, see for example the next chapter). Using risk discourse does not necessarily project an image of a damaged 'self'. There are investments for men to use it. This is because men are suggesting that they are assessing, managing and reducing their risks

of violence in an acceptable and taught way. Accounts like these are likely to be accepted within probation because of the dominance of risk discourse flourishing throughout. Explanations for abusive behaviours that suggest alcohol is linked to the abuse are likely to be accepted particularly in the institutional domain of case management, despite responsibility for the violence placed onto alcohol, because of the view here that such a 'factor' is seen as increasing offenders' risks. These 'factors', according to official rhetoric require assessment, management and 'where possible' reduction in order to protect the public from the risks of harm and re-offending (see Home Office, 2002a:C3, 2002b; NPS, 2001).

The chapter has therefore illustrated how practitioners and intimately violent men use risk discourse, within and throughout the different domains, to talk about the 'treatment' of intimately violent offenders. The next chapter discusses the use of rehabilitation discourse.

CHAPTER SIX

TALKING ABOUT A RESIDUAL REHABILITATION DISCOURSE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how practitioners and intimately violent men use the unofficial (and official) rhetoric to talk about how to ‘treat’ intimately violent offenders in terms of a discourse of rehabilitation, which is about changing offenders’ attitudes and behaviours to eliminate crime. The chapter follows a similar format to the previous chapter. It begins with a consideration of how the probation service initially assesses intimately violent men. Here, the discussion is about making sense of the conflation in official and practitioners’ talk of offender needs and offender risks. This section demarcates these two concepts. Again, the notions of plausible and acceptable accounts are integral to presenting findings in this chapter (see chapters four and five). The next part of this chapter considers practitioners’ talk. It illustrates how case managers draw, in part, on rehabilitation discourse. Their talk suggests that they believe in working with offenders to change them. They talk about ‘change’ in terms of reducing risks of re-offending, as opposed to ending crime. Their talk supports that illustrated in the previous chapter where case managers speak from a predominantly managerialist approach of *dealing with* offenders to assess and manage risks, as opposed to *working with* men to change their attitudes and violent behaviours. There are investments for case managers to position and speak predominantly from within this discourse of risk, and outwith rehabilitation discourse.

The notion of working with men to address their attitudes and behaviours to end their violence gained most influence and legitimacy in the institutional domain of the programme. The middle part of this chapter discusses this, focusing primarily on when and how violent men deploy this rehabilitation discourse. Central themes are the investments men have *vis-à-vis* positioning themselves within particular discourses and outwith others (see Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Hollway, 1998). The chapter illustrates how men invest in talking about rehabilitation discourse when exercises in the programme do not focus specifically on them, but on violent men in general: a ‘one step removed’ way of working (see Roberts and Baim, 1999:231). This is because it avoids men presenting a spoiled image of the ‘self’ (see Goffman, 1968, 1971). The latter section of this chapter illustrates how some men draw, in part, on rehabilitation

discourse in the interviews. It also considers the investments of positioning within discourses *vis-à-vis* the varying institutional domains.

The chapter argues that practitioners and intimately violent offenders use unofficial (and official) rhetoric similarly to talk about how to ‘treat’ intimately violent offenders, in terms of rehabilitation discourse. There are fewer investments for them to use this discourse within the over-arching context of the organisations studied. Therefore, accounts consisting of such talk may still be accepted within some of the institutional domains, particularly within the programme, but may be less talked about in other areas of probation practice studied, like case management.

6.2 The Practicalities of Assessment

6.2.1 Demarcating Criminogenic Needs and Dynamic Risk ‘Factors’

As suggested in chapter one, assessing offender risk is an important strategy for the *National Probation Service* (NPS) in protecting the public (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Kemshall, 1995, 1998; NPS, 2001; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992). One of the guidelines from the ‘what works’ agenda, discussed in chapter two, stresses the importance of assessing offender risk so that the appropriate resources are allocated to reduce risks of re-offending and harm (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Home Office, 1999a; McGuire, 2000; NPS, 2001). According to official rhetoric, part of the initial assessment of offenders by the probation service is to identify offence-related ‘factors’, often termed criminogenic needs or dynamic risk ‘factors’ (McGuire, 2000). It was argued in chapter five that practitioners’ accounts about probation practices illustrated the conflation of needs and risks (see also Andrews and Bonta, 1994; Aubrey and Hough, 1997; Calverley *et al.*, 2004; Farrall, 2002). Some case managers talked about offender needs as dynamic risk ‘factors’ that were assessed and managed in order to reduce the risks of harm and violence. As such, needs *and* risks were part of a dominant and legitimised risk discourse (see Home Office, 2002a, 2002b; see also Robinson, 1999).

There is a distinction though between offender needs and offender risks. Criminogenic needs could be talked about as comprising part of a rehabilitation discourse. For example, if needs were spoken about as requiring ‘treatment’ so that these offence-related ‘factors’ were eliminated, then this may lead to talk about ending men’s violence

(see below). Thus, what are viewed in rehabilitation discourse as criminogenic needs requiring change to eliminate criminal behaviours (see for example Farrall, 2002 and his concept of obstacles), are seen in risk discourse as dynamic risk ‘factors’ that require assessment, management and reduction to reduce re-offending behaviours (see Andrews and Bonta, 1994; Aubrey and Hough, 1997; Calverley *et al.*, 2004; Farrall, 2002). The following section considers whether practitioners in my study implicated offender needs to be changed to end violence, or whether they spoke about offender risks to be assessed, managed and reduced in order to reduce abusive behaviours. This analysis is discussed with reference to the official and unofficial strategies used to assess offenders.

6.2.2 Assessing Offenders: The Official Dominance of Offender Risks

In the probation area I studied, there was a Pre-Sentence Report (PSR) writing-team of probation officers, who carried out most of the initial assessment of offenders (see Partridge, 2004). Partridge (2004) argues that in her study this eased the workload off other probation officers because they did not have to organise writing PSRs as well as supervise offenders, in terms of making contact with them. Yet in the probation area in my research, case managers were also asked to write PSRs (see Burnett, 1996) as well as maintain regular contacts with offenders in accordance with *National Standards* (see Home Office, 2002a). Hence the demands PSRs placed on case managers in my study, discussed in the last chapter.

The PSR is used to identify offenders’ needs and risks. ‘Factors’ such as accommodation, employment status, substance misuse and mental illness can be cited and discussed in the report (see Aubrey and Hough, 1997; Home Office, 2002a; see also Appendix E). Another assessment tool that was used by the probation area was OASys (see Home Office, 2002b, 2003c; see also Merrington and Hine, 2001). This was discussed in more detail in the last chapter. This assessment tool is designed to identify ‘factors’ that are thought to be linked to offending. For instance, there is specific reference made in OASys to psychiatric and psychological issues, the abuse of substances particularly alcohol or drugs, and problems relating to finances, employment and unemployment. Official rhetoric then considers these ‘factors’ as connected to offending behaviours (see Home Office, 2002b; OASys Two, 2002).

It is unclear from this literature on assessing general offending behaviours how ‘factors’ such as substance misuse, mental illness, unemployment are specifically related to men’s violence, whether they are seen as needs or risk ‘factors’. The Home Office (2002a, 2002b) does imply that the purpose of identifying needs is to assess risks in terms of risk of harm and re-offending. In doing so, it mentions alcohol as connected to the risk of harm. Other (static) risk ‘factors’ that cannot be altered but are thought to possibly impact upon the risk of re-offending include witnessing or experiencing abuse as a child or adolescent (i.e. cycle of violence) and previous convictions (see Kropp *et al.*, 2002; see also Hudson, 2003). There is little mention in official rhetoric about offenders’ needs as criminogenic needs that require alteration in order to end criminal behaviours (see chapter three).

Whether deemed criminogenic needs or dynamic (as well as static) risk ‘factors’, the Table in Appendix E shows the identification of these by the assessment tools, including OASys and PSRs, used in the probation area I studied. The Table suggests three out of the eight court-mandated men’s files did not contain full details of OASys, primarily because the probation area was in a transitory process of adopting this tool (see chapter five). All these files did have PSRs, due to the court’s request for these when sentencing an offender (see Whittaker *et al.*, 1997). During the completion of a PSR, patterns of similar offending behaviours are thought to be important details for magistrates and judges when deciding on the most appropriate sentence for recent criminal acts (Home Office, 2002a). As such, the sixth column of the Table shows court-mandated men’s previous convictions. Previous convictions are not an assessment tool *per se* but they are used in the assessment process, as suggested, to inform PSRs. For instance, three men had previous convictions for offences related to alcohol (e.g. driving with excess alcohol) and four out of eight PSRs mentioned alcohol as linked to the current violence-related offence. The end column of the Table details the interventions proposed to ‘treat’ offenders’ needs and risks, such as alcohol, over and above attendance on the DVP.

Only men who are sentenced to a court order are assessed via instruments such as PSRs, OASys, and details of their previous convictions collated. All men including those who are ‘self-referred’ are specifically assessed for their suitability to attend the DVP. The two workers who facilitate the DVP carried out this assessment (see

Appendix E). They both used the same un-accredited and therefore unofficial tools, since they were awaiting the implementation in 2005-2006 of an accredited version. This impending official tool *Spousal Assault Risk Assessment* (SARA) is thought to identify risk ‘factors’ that are viewed as increasing the risks of harm and likelihood of domestic violence. Such ‘factors’ include previous and ongoing acts of abuse that may increase in severity and frequency over time, mental health disturbances, substance misuse, witnessing or experiencing violence as a child and adolescent, unemployment and financial problems, and the assigning of blame and responsibility for violence onto some other person or thing (Kropp *et al.*, 2002).⁷¹ These ‘factors’ are similar to those identified by the official generic assessment tools of OASys and PSRs. However, SARA specifically details these as risk ‘factors’ that increase the risks of domestic violence (see Kropp *et al.*, 2002).

The Domestic Violence Programme Assessment (DVPA) of men’s needs and risks identified ‘factors’ linked to anger, alcohol, mental health, loss of control, cycle of violence, stress, attitudes to women. This assessment also noted that some men accepted some responsibility but blamed the victim for violence (see Appendix C for a breakdown). Previous incidences of domestic violence and future risk of abuse were also assessed as well as men’s motivation to change and engage with the DVP (see Appendix E). The following section considers the latter in more detail including previous violence and men’s perceived risk of future abuse. Attitudes to women are also discussed. Other ‘factors’ such as alcohol were discussed in the last chapter, whereas anger and loss of control are considered further below in the section ‘practitioners’ talk’.

6.2.3 Feminist Perspectives on Offender Needs: A Distinction From Offender Risks

Official assessment tools including OASys and SARA conflate offender needs with offender risks perhaps due to the official dominance of risk discourse and the focus on assessing, managing and reducing risks (see Home Office, 2002a; 2002b; Kropp *et al.*, 2002; see also chapter five). In doing so, criminogenic needs are viewed as influencing an offender’s risk of re-offending (see Andrews and Bonta, 1994; Aubrey and Hough,

⁷¹ In my study this is conceptualised as excuses place the responsibility for abuse onto ‘factors’ like alcohol and anger. Justifications place the blame for violence onto the victim/survivor of the abuse (see Hearn, 1998a; see also chapter three).

1997; Calverley *et al.*, 2004; Farrall, 2002). The soon to be accredited assessment tool SARA considers a history of violence against women in intimate relationships as a risk 'factor' associated with domestic violence offending behaviours (see Kropp *et al.*, 2002; see also Appendix I). The DVPA of men suggested that all 11 men had committed previous acts of violence against their current partners or recent ex-partners (see Appendix E; see also Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2004).⁷² Only two men had been convicted previously for offences relating to their abuse. During the DVPA, men completed a questionnaire that asked them whether they thought they were at risk of committing further domestic violence. Based on their responses, their risk of re-offending was noted. Seven of the eleven men considered that they were at risk of committing further acts of domestic violence, two men did not answer the question, one man said he was no risk, and one other man was not sure whether he was at risk.

Alternate perspectives can take a different stance on offenders' needs and risks, and in doing so fundamentally draw a division between these two concepts. Some feminists, for example, have argued that men commit intimate violence to gain and maintain power and control over their partners and ex-partners. They have identified attitudes supporting notions of male privilege, sexual jealousy and possessiveness as 'sources of conflict' in domestic violence incidences (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; 1984:273; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000:24). In terms of a discourse of rehabilitation, these 'factors' are criminogenic needs that require change to end violence (see for example Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). The DVPA also included an interview with the offender to discuss recent violent incidences that they had committed in order for workers to identify elements of controlling behaviours, including attitudes about women. The questionnaire that men completed as part of the DVPA, also asked them whether they wanted to change their abusive behaviours, and whether they thought they needed help to stop them committing further violence. All eleven men said they wanted to change their violent behaviours. Seven of the men thought that they needed help to stop them committing further domestic violence acts,

⁷² It also emerged from the assessments and some of the interviews with violent men that three men had been violent in previous past intimate relationships with other women.

one said he did not need help, one was unsure, and two did not answer this question (see Appendix E).

There is an investment for men to position themselves and speak from within a discourse of rehabilitation. They are being assessed for a programme that aims to end men's violence. If men consider that they do not need to change themselves to end their abuse, then the programme workers may consider that they are unsuitable for the programme. If men are deemed unsuitable, they risk facing an alternative and perhaps a perceivably more punitive sentence than a Community Rehabilitation Order with a condition to attend a DVP. For instance, they may risk a sentence like a Community Punishment Order or imprisonment (see Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001). The unofficial DVPA of men then incorporated both discourses of risk (i.e. risk of re-offending was assessed) and rehabilitation, as opposed to the official assessment procedure that appeared to primarily emphasise the dominant risk discourse by merging offender needs with offender risks to assess risks of harm and re-offending (see Home Office, 2002a, 2002b; Kropp *et al.*, 2002).

As mentioned, feminists argue that chauvinistic beliefs (a criminogenic need), which support abusive behaviours, require alteration so that men end their violence (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Hearn (1998a) argues that the responses of organisations that work with intimately violent men need to situate men's violence in this oppressive context as opposed to viewing the problem of men's violence as related to risk 'factors' such as anger. Some of the practitioners' talk replicated these views. Of the six case managers interviewed, two used these feminist tenets to talk about the 'factors' related to their cases' violence (see also Home Office, 2004a). Denis explains how these issues influenced his decision to assess suitability for the DVP.

Interviewer: [...] I asked if you thought he was suitable for the domestic violence programme and you said yes. What 'evidence' do you have to suggest that he is suitable?

Respondent: I mean mainly to do with his offence it was against his partner. The fact that he's got two previous, although he's not been charged with those, so there is clearly an issue. And, the fact that [...] it's more to do with his attitudes towards women [...], those are the things that I looked at [...] [Denis, practitioner].

Denis provides an acceptable account. This is because, like three other practitioners in interviews, he has identified ongoing incidents of domestic violence, which as suggested, is part of official risk discourse about the dynamic risk ‘factors’ associated with the risks of re-offending (see Kropp *et al.*, 2002). It is difficult for case managers to monitor risks of intimate violence given its private nature (see Mirrlees-Black, 1999) especially when they do not often contact female victims/survivors about the abuse. Denis may have allocated the offender to a programme that is set-up alongside a women’s support service in an attempt to monitor offender risk, although he does not say this (see chapter five). In his talk, Denis also draws, in part, on rehabilitation discourse because he implies a link between this man’s attitudes towards women and the violence he has committed. In assessing him as suitable for the DVP, Denis suggests that this intervention can address these criminogenic needs. The following section explores the disjuncture between offender needs and offender risks in more detail drawing on case managers’ talk.

6.3 Practitioners’ Talk

6.3.1 Case Managers’ Perspectives: Needs or Risks?

Some feminists do not view ‘factors’ such as alcohol misuse, anger and mental illness to be intrinsic to intimate violence, although they may well compound the problem of men’s abuse (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; see also Morran and Wilson, 1997; Stanko, 1994). Yet a wealth of data has accumulated that points to some of these ‘factors’ and other issues documented in Appendix E as integral in some way to domestic violence offending (see chapter three). Research has suggested that domestic violence offenders suffer from mental illness, they misuse and depend on alcohol (Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003), and have witnessed violence as a child and adolescent (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003, 2004; see also Gayford, 1975).⁷³ Other studies have illustrated how domestic violence offenders explain their violence in terms of losing control because they were drunk (Ptacek,

⁷³ Although, feminist researchers like that of Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis (2000) found some of the men in their study to have witnessed violence as a child and adolescent, they do not view such ‘factors’ as the key reason why domestic violence happens. Rather, they consider the occurrence of intimate violence as taking place within an over-arching nexus of beliefs about male domination over women in intimate relationships.

1988; see also Hearn, 1998a). Research has indicated that practitioners often used alcohol as an explanation for domestic violence behaviours (Borkowski *et al.*, 1983).

Official rhetoric, exemplified by the official accredited assessment tools, illustrates how ‘factors’ such as anger and mental health problems are important to identify when assessing offenders’ risks of harm and re-offending (see Home Office, 2002a, 2002b; see also Appendix E). This official rhetoric was reflected in some of the practitioners’ talk. Three practitioners refer to anger, with one practitioner connecting this to loss of control, as being linked to domestic violence behaviours in some way (see also Borkowski *et al.*, 1983; Hearn, 1998a; Ptacek, 1988 and Appendix E), albeit the practitioners did not expand on how. One case manager talks about how these ‘factors’ are integral in the assessment of men before they are sentenced.

[...] when they [the courts] adjourn for reports [PSRs], it’s three weeks, but sometimes the psychological or psychiatric reports aren’t prepared successfully in that time. [...] you could be right at the point of sentencing and it all stops because we’re saying we’re not happy about him going back to his domestic circumstances or his friends, we want to have some influence over this. We don’t want him to be walking straight back into the place of his partner. We don’t want him to be getting drunk. We want to have a little bit more public protection going on [...] [Jack, practitioner].

Jack has drawn on dominant risk discourse to talk about the assessment of offenders as illustrated in the official literature: ‘the protection of the public from harm should always take precedence over needs of the individual in any planned intervention’ (Chapman and Hough, 1998:24; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992; Garland, 1997, 2001). Here, official rhetoric emphasises focusing on offender risks rather than offender needs. Alcohol misuse has officially been cited as linked to offenders’ risk of harm (see Home Office, 2002b). It appears from the literature that official interventions are mechanisms for the assessment, management, and reduction of offender risks (see NPS, 2001; see also Robinson and McNeill, 2004 and chapter one). Supervision sessions were talked about by two case managers (including Jack above) where they managed the dynamic risk ‘factor’ of alcohol in order to manage offenders’ risks of violence; rather than ‘treating’ men’s alcohol problem as a criminogenic need to be altered in order to end violence (see for example Farrall, 2002; Garland, 1997;

Robinson, 1999). Denis explains how he refers the offender to another organisation for 'treatment'.

Interviewer: *So is he going to get help for his alcohol then?*

Respondent: That's right. That's one of his objectives on his supervision plan, which comes out from this OASys form that we have to complete with each PSR. So yes, kind of addressing his alcohol use is one objective and the other one is obviously completing the domestic violence programme.

Interviewer: *So will you or another officer just work on his alcohol problem or will he attend somewhere [else]?*

Respondent: Yes, what will happen with that is he'll probably be referred to the alcohol advice centre or another outside agency where he can go and seek advice and support. But in addition to that, whoever the case manager is, if I was [continued to be] the case manager then I would be monitoring, by kind of through a self report, asking how much he's drinking and stuff like that. So yes, it would be monitored [Denis, practitioner].

Denis' account, like Jack's directly above, draws on the organisations' over-arching dominant discourse of risk and the rhetoric of risk management. Chapter five discussed the bifurcating nature of risk discourse into risk management including assessment, and risk reduction. It was noted that practices of risk management were more talked about than risk reduction strategies in the domain of case management. Thus, all case managers considered that management of offenders' risks was integral to their work. This was achieved via contacts with offenders and ultimately the enforcement of orders. In supervision sessions, Denis would '[...] iron out issues [...] and try and ensure that he [the offender] does get through the programme and completes the programme [...]', particularly since alcohol misuse may disrupt the offender's participation and attendance on the DVP (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh, Lewis, 2000).

Reducing offenders' risks, particularly those associated with alcohol were unlikely to be talked about by case managers. Case managers referred three of the violent men on to another organisation outside of the criminal justice system so that men could be 'treated' for their perceived alcohol offending-related problem (what this 'treatment' involves will be determined by the 'outside agency'). There are a number of reasons for referring offenders, like lack of resources including probation officers' time (see

also Humphrey and Pease, 1992).⁷⁴ Previously the Home Office (1996c) had suggested that probation services were to improve their working relationships with other organisations in the community, usually outside of the criminal justice system, so that these agencies can ‘treat’ offenders. This move was considered to assist the probation service in achieving its aims efficiently in terms of cost and ‘treatment’ (which for probation is about reducing risks of re-offending). As discussed in chapter one, underlying the government policies during the 1980s and 1990s were a set of economic concerns about reducing spending in criminal justice (see Spencer and Deakin, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005). Thus, case managers in my study are more akin to Partridge’s (2004:20) concept of ‘brokers’, where they focus on allocating offenders to appropriate interventions to target the perceived offence-related ‘factors’, as opposed to carrying out such work themselves. Partridge (2004) argues that this facilitates the efficient allocation of resources into key tasks such as risk management, including assessment.

This is an important observation to make about the probation area because the assessment of men had linked alcohol with four of the men’s current offences, which was half of the court-mandated men on the DVP. The men’s assessment suggested that offence-related problems with alcohol would be ‘treated’ in some way by (i) referral to an ‘outside agency’ (as Denis’ account above suggests), (ii) further assessment, and (iii) addressed during supervision (see Appendix E). Concerning the latter two points, as the above suggests, alcohol was monitored in supervision sessions as a potential risk ‘factor’ that might increase offenders’ risks of re-offending. On the other hand, talk on some of the periodic questionnaires about case managers’ ‘treatment’ of intimately violent men during supervision sessions, drew on rehabilitation discourse. Two case managers implied that alcohol was a criminogenic need related to the offenders’ intimate violence. Henry cited this on a questionnaire:

Alcohol abuse is a long-standing issue and closely related to [offender’s name] offence and his ability *to put things right* [Henry, practitioner, *my emphasis*].

⁷⁴ The NPS does address alcohol offence-related problems via offending behaviour programmes albeit some interventions are still trying for accreditation (see Correctional Services, 2004; NPS, 2001).

Henry's talk suggests that alcohol hinders the offender's attempts to amend his wrongful behaviours and to move onto actions that are more positive. He uses the words 'to put things right'. If the offender 'put things right' then there would be nothing wrong. This resembles more the talk of rehabilitation discourse and changing the criminogenic need (addressing alcohol) to end abuse, as opposed to risk discourse that implies managing the risk to reduce violence. The latter discourse suggests there is still wrong in terms of ongoing, albeit reduced, abuse. However, Henry's practices are limited in terms of how far he can talk about reducing risks to reduce re-offending *and* altering offenders' needs to end their violent behaviours. The following section discusses this with reference to perpetrator programmes and the supporting work that this entails.

6.3.2 Case Management, Risk Management: 'New Rehabilitation'

Under the effective practice initiative, case managers are to be integrated within accredited offending behaviour programmes. This means that they are expected to carry out structured pre- and post- programme work with offenders during individual supervision sessions in order to support the work of the offending behaviour programme (Home Office, 1999b; see also Underdown, 1998). Merrington and Hine (2001) describe pre-programme work as motivating offenders, whereas post-programme work is said to maintain (any) positive behaviours by *preventing* relapse into offending behaviours. In this sense, post-programme work may be more aligned, in part, with a discourse of rehabilitation that seeks to end crime by *working with* offenders.⁷⁵

In the probation area in my study, the implementation of accredited offending behaviour programmes had led to restructuring the case management model as well as increasing the tasks of case managers (because of pre- and post-programme work). In terms of the DVP, case managers were expected to carry out pre-programme work, despite the programme (nor the pre-programme work) being accredited. When I asked them in interviews about this work, two of the six case managers were unaware of it being

⁷⁵ Pre- and post-programme work is a recent addition to the structured work that is to be carried out with offenders. Without analysing such work, it is unclear what discourses these strategies adopt. However, drawing on Merrington and Hine's (2001) suggestion that post-programme work seeks to maintain positive behaviours by preventing relapse into offending, I have taken this to entail, in part, a discourse of rehabilitation.

implemented locally (although they were aware of official moves to integrate case managers within accredited programmes). It may take some time to be integrated fully into case management. Only two of the eight court-mandated men had any kind of structured and directed offence-focussed work shown to them by their case manager before the DVP (these men shared the same case manager). Information was also gathered from the periodic questionnaires received from case managers during the course of the DVP, as well as feedback on questionnaires and in interviews with offenders, about the content of individual supervision sessions (see chapter four). This data suggested that whilst men had been attending the programme, no case manager had undertaken any in-depth, structured and directed offence-focussed work using exercises from an offending behaviour programme manual, other than discussing issues that were perceived as related to the offending behaviours (e.g. the criminogenic needs) (see also Farrall, 2002). Louise, a case manager, illustrates this.

Interviewer: In the file when I was looking through it I noticed there wasn't really, well any evidence of work done with [offender's name] in terms of pre-programme work. [...] so what have you been doing?

Respondent: Well, he's been reporting once a week, which he has to. But I haven't really done any pre-programme work with him because a) I'm not really qualified and b) he's going to get that input when he starts on Monday at the domestic violence [programme]. Because our main thing is just to make sure he comes in [...]. But when he comes in, it's just sort of general chatting rather than any sort of focussed work [Louise, practitioner].

The 'general chatting', which Louise mentions could be about discussing 'factors' related to the offending behaviours (the criminogenic needs), which is part of rehabilitation discourse. Alternatively, it might mean discussing issues not related to criminal behaviour (the non-criminogenic needs). The last chapter suggested that all case managers viewed the management of non-criminogenic needs as integral in some way to the smooth management of offenders throughout their court orders. As such, non-criminogenic needs were viewed as part of risk discourse. Louise's use of the term 'general chatting' could also mean what Jack implies in the last chapter about having only time to ask questions that primarily assess offender risk so that he can manage it. This talk is also part of risk discourse. Moreover, by saying '[...] our main thing is *just* to make sure he comes in [...]' (*my emphasis*) Louise emphasises enforcing orders via offender contact, which the last chapter also argued was about assessing and managing

offender risk. Her narrative then mimics the official rhetoric of *National Standards* and the central importance of monitoring offenders' risks (see Home Office, 2002a). Therefore, whilst it appears Louise may have drawn in part on rehabilitation discourse, it is a discourse of risk, which she primarily uses (in a rather casual tone) to talk about her supervision of an offender.

Louise appears to place programme work outside of case management and within the programme domain. The investments for Louise to do this are twofold. Firstly, she says she is not qualified to carry out pre-programme work. There is some support for Louise's narrative since Partridge (2004) argues that case managers need to be trained in delivering pre-and post-programme offending behaviour work. This has implications for recent moves suggested above of case managers carrying out such work in terms of training practitioners. Secondly, despite most of the case managers suggesting that structured work with offenders in supervision sessions was a good idea (see below), the constraints of the managerialist approach within which they worked, such as making efficient use of scarce resources so that offender risk is managed (see Feeley and Simon, 1992; Fowles, 1990; Garland, 1997, 2001; Home Office, 2001, 2002c; Kemshall, 1998; Partridge, 2004; Robinson, 2002), often prevented them from carrying out any in-depth work with their cases (see also Humphrey and Pease, 1992). Henry's narrative supports this by illustrating how a residual discourse of rehabilitation has been revamped into a discourse of risk (see Feeley and Simon, 1992; Garland, 1997, 2001; Robinson, 1999, 2002).

[...] they [government] took it away [rehabilitation] and brought it back in the form of programmes. Okay that's fine, no problem with that! But, when it was taken, when the rehab was taken away from case managers, other things were put in mainly bloody court reports [PSRs]: one a day or whatever. Now that they [NPD and/or government] are wanting to bring the rehab back, as back up for the programmes, there's no room so it's not getting done! [Henry, practitioner]

Even though Henry is referring to rehabilitation as being brought back, it is, as Garland (2001:176, see also 1997) suggests 'increasingly inscribed in a framework of risk'. Robinson (1999:430, 2002) argues this is a 'new rehabilitation' that is synonymous with 'risk management': both ultimately aim to protect the public. This is reflected twofold in programmes and a managerialist approach. With respect to the former, official

rhetoric suggests that programmes are to reduce re-offending behaviours (see NPS, 2001; Underdown, 1998). Despite the unaccredited and thus unofficial nature of the DVP in my study that aimed to end men's violence, the exercises carried out in the group-work sessions showed men how to assess, manage and reduce their risks of violence. Thus, there was a discourse of risk weaving throughout the intervention (see chapter five). With reference to the managerialist approach, this has facilitated a 'rehabilitation' that is synonymous with 'risk management' (Robinson, 1999, 2002; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992; Garland, 1997, 2001) as Henry's extract above suggests. This is because the demands of such an approach, like writing PSRs to facilitate the allocation of limited resources to manage offender risks, have left little if no space for case managers to fundamentally work with offenders to alter their attitudes and behaviours to end their violence (see Feeley and Simon, 1992; Humphrey and Pease, 1992; Robinson, 1999, 2002).

Like Henry, and as suggested in chapter five, most other case managers spoke about the demands of writing large volumes of PSRs, and thus they made indirect reference to the constraints of managerialism on their capacity to both reduce risks *and* work with offenders to end violence in individual supervision sessions. Case managers spoke more about a discourse of risk and risk management rhetoric than a discourse of rehabilitation. The following section considers how far practitioners drew on this latter discourse to talk about the 'treatment' of intimately violent offenders.

6.3.3 Case Management, Changing Offenders: Reducing or Eliminating Crime?

Robinson and McNeill (2004:297; see also Garland, 2001) argue 'that probation professionals are far from being the passive vessels of official discourses'. Research has shown how case managers consider that their tasks are aimed at stopping offenders committing crime (Farrall, 2002). Some case managers in my study drew, in part, on a discourse of rehabilitation to talk about offender change. Jack, a case manager, talks about this.

[...] I've seen significant changes in people, offenders I can name whilst I'm sitting here. I've seen significant changes in them, where they for the first time in their lives, they didn't offend in an eighteen month probation order. The first time in ten or fifteen years they've not offended against a women [...]. [Jack, practitioner].

Jack, like two other case managers, subscribes to a belief in offender change albeit he refers to this within an 18 month Probation Order. He is not suggesting that the offenders will not ever re-offend. Jack, like Henry in the previous extract above, is one of the few more experienced probation officers in my study. He is attuned to the recent and fundamental shifts in the changing practices of the probation service in its 'treatment' of offenders. Many of the other probation officers in my study were undertaking or had recently completed the revised probation officer qualification: the Diploma in Probation Studies. It has been argued in the literature that the purpose of this training is to detach individuals from the former social work principles underpinning the previous work of the probation service and its welfare-focused approach that helped offenders with problems of a social and personal nature (as opposed to focusing on offending behaviours). The training sought to mould new practitioners to the organisation's current ethos of a public protection agency that was tough on offenders. Such rhetoric served to present the probation service as a credible criminal justice organisation (Robinson and McNeill, 2004; see also Cavadino *et al.*, 1999; Feeley and Simon, 1992; Garland, 1997; Nellis, 2001; Spencer and Deakin, 2004; Worrall and Hoy, 2005; and chapter one).

The implementation of 'what works' as the effective practice initiative also facilitated a vision of a legitimate probation service (Mair, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; see chapter one). New Labour wanted to be seen to be carrying out positive work with offenders in terms of reducing re-offending (Spencer and Deakin, 2004). Most case managers in my study, including those that were newly trained and recently recruited, talked about a belief in working with offenders via offence-focused structured work. Janice and Henry talk about this. In doing so, they are more specific about offender change than Jack's narrative above, because they imply changing offenders to reduce risks of re-offending.

Interviewer: [...] *the [structured] work that you do with the offenders before the programme, do you think it's useful to them?*

Respondent: Yeah I do, I do. I do because I believe in a general sort of philosophy of probation, which is that if people think more about what they do they would make less mistakes. That's a generalisation. I think that's where probation comes from, certainly where I've come from, which is why I support things like ETS [an accredited group-work programme], and a lot of the programme stuff, because that's the philosophy behind it, isn't it? So my aim would be really is to get someone thinking about the issue. So if they come in and they do a little session twenty, twenty-five minutes and then go home, and they go out and they think about it for another ten [minutes], then you know, that's a success for the week. And if they come in the next week and they say, 'I thought about you know', then that's a big success [...] the chances of another offence have been lowered. I would make that assumption if they're thinking about things then they're less likely to offend and obviously you're not right, you're not always right [about offending being less likely]. They [offenders] might be thinking of a better way to do it or something [laughs]. So, I've got a sort of a faith in human nature I suppose. So yeah, that's my aim, to stimulate thought.

Interviewer: *Do you think [his case's name] has been thinking over the course of the weeks you've been with him?*

Respondent: [pause] Yeah, yeah, yes. I think [case's name], the results suggest he has. The results are not the best that I would hope for, but

Interviewer: *What results?*

Respondent: Well, he's been less violent, physically [Henry, practitioner].

Janice similarly talks about offender change and a belief in working with offenders.

I do believe that pre and post [programme] work is beneficial and that it's something that, you know, if I've got the time it would be nice to carry out. Because it's a great achievement to see somebody on the caseload get through a programme and see if they change, which is what the job is all about, helping people to change so they reduce their risk [...] [Janice, practitioner].

If post-programme work is about what Merrington and Hine (2001) suggests maintaining positive behaviours to prevent relapse into offending, then Janice's talk might support rehabilitation discourse about working with offenders to end crime. Henry's talk could also be interpreted as using rehabilitation discourse because he refers to offender's thinking about their crimes (see also Emily's quote in point number eight in Appendix F). Drawn from CBT, this may facilitate them to alter the distorted views

that underpin such behaviour, which is then thought to effect emotions and result in positive actions (Scourfield and Dobash, 1999; see also McGuire, 2000). This might possibly mean an end to criminal behaviours or reduced re-offending. Eadie (2004) also found that probation officers gained the most satisfaction from working directly with offenders in order to achieve change. This study also noted that the least satisfaction with the job was the lack of time that probation officers had to carry out the increasing number of tasks that their job involved. Janice's talk supports this when she suggests '[...] if I've got the time it would be nice to carry out [...]' (see also Jack's quote in point number eight in Appendix F). Janice's talk continues and she relates change in the offender to a reduction of risk. Henry equates change with reduced re-offending. They both draw on the official rhetoric and use a discourse of risk to talk about the 'treatment' of (intimately violent) offenders (see Chapman and Hough, 1998).

Hearn (1998a, 1998b) argues that practitioners are more likely to work from and within the dominant themes of policy and practice of their organisation. Janice and Henry provided legitimised accounts of current official interventions as mechanisms for reducing risks of re-offending (see NPS, 2001). The outcome they expect is that risks of harm and re-offending can be reduced. Emily echoes this when she talks about the change from a welfare-orientated practice that helped offenders to an approach that focused on managing offender risk.

The focus has changed from like befriending, the advise and befriend type social work before, to risk, managing risk and everything to do with 'what works' [...] [Emily, practitioner].

As chapter two suggested, the rhetoric of 'what works' is focused on assessing, managing and reducing risks to reduce re-offending (see Chapman and Hough, 1998; Home Office, 1999a; McGuire, 2000; McGuire and Priestley, 1995; Vennard *et al.*, 1997). Case managers use this risk discourse, particularly risk management rhetoric to talk about the supervision of offenders in the community, not because they do not subscribe to an ethos of offender change or a belief in working with offenders, but because of the investment this serves for them. By not talking about rehabilitation discourse and working with offenders to change attitudes and behaviours to end crime,

case managers are able to talk about doing their managerialist tasks such as writing PSRs for the courts, making the necessary contacts with offenders, and ensuring that they attend programmes without hitches. According to *National Standards*, these are the dominant tasks undertaken by case managers to ultimately assess, manage and ‘where possible’ reduce offender risks so that the public are protected from harm and re-offending behaviours (see Home Office, 2002a:C3; *my emphasis*). Case managers do not spoil the perception of their professional ‘self’ because of this neglect on their part to talk about carrying out such work with offenders. They perceive such a task to be carried out within offending behaviour programmes (see Louise’s narrative above in the chapter section 6.3.2). The following part of this chapter considers the use of rehabilitation discourse within the DVP in my study.

6.4 Programme Talk

Official talk considers that programmes are mechanisms to reduce re-offending behaviours (see NPS, 2001). RESPECT’s (2004) recently revised standards similarly suggest that whilst men can become non-violent, domestic violence programmes cannot end men’s abuse; at best they can sometimes reduce it.⁷⁶ On the other hand, domestic violence offending behaviour programmes have been viewed (by some researchers who evaluate them) as potential vehicles to end men’s violent behaviours (see Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavadino and Lewis, 2000; Skyner and Waters, 1999; see also Gondolf, 1988, 2000b; Gondolf and Hanneken, 1987). The officially accredited *Integrated Domestic Abuse Programme* (IDAP) rhetorically aims to end men’s intimate violence against women (see Home Office, 2004d). The DVP in my study, which was unaccredited and therefore unofficial, also aimed to end men’s abuse. It deployed both discourses of risk about reducing re-offending behaviours and rehabilitation about ending violence. Chapter five considered the discourse of risk whereas this part of this chapter discusses rehabilitation discourse as illustrated in the programme manual and deployed in the group-work sessions with the violent men.

⁷⁶ These standards are unofficial and therefore do not contain official discourse (see chapter two).

6.4.1 The Theoretical Framework of the Domestic Violence Programme

The aim of the DVP, as indicated in the programme manual and reiterated by the programme workers, was to help men end their violence. In the first introductory session of the programme and stipulated in the programme manual, which I have paraphrased, men were informed that the programme offered them the opportunity to:

- (i) accept blame and responsibility for violence by recognising how they justify and excuse their violence; and
- (ii) learn how to end their violent behaviours;

It would do this by showing men:

- (i) the link between how they think, the feelings this engenders, and the resulting behaviours;
- (ii) particularly considering their thoughts about men and women.

The DVP was underpinned by cognitive-behaviourism and pro-feminist tenets (see chapter two). Cognitive-behaviourism focuses on changing an individual's thinking, which in turn is thought to effect emotions and ultimately behaviours. Pro-feminist approaches re-educate men about the roles and identities of men and women, and address the deliberate tactics that men use to gain positions of power in intimate relationships (Scourfield and Dobash, 1999). This framework can be seen as a combined strategy to officially reduce and unofficially eliminate violence by moulding offender's thoughts, using CBT, that according to feminist tenets are intrinsic to domestic violence offending behaviours (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). The following section considers these feminist views that underpin the unofficial rhetoric of eliminating violence.

6.4.2 Feminist Perspectives on Men's Needs: Changing Men, Ending Violence

In one of the sessions during the week of group-work, men were intensely interviewed about the violent incident that had brought them to the programme (see chapter five). Over a week later during another group-session, the men were to draw on these intense interviews and identify 'factors' associated with their violent behaviours. 'What works' guidelines state that interventions are to target and alter 'factors' related to the offending

behaviours so that risks of re-offending are reduced (Home Office, 1999a; McGuire, 2000; NPS, 2001). My observation notes suggest the following in relation to this session.

2nd Thursday. Men are asked to identify their own issues that were raised when they were interviewed about their violent incidences. Nine men are present during this session (two men failed to turn up). Men often spoke of more than one issue. Four men mentioned alcohol as an issue linked to their offending. Three men talked about being angry and one of these men said they needed to control their anger. Four men said that their partners or ex-partners were to blame for their violence. One of these men said that he would 'walk away' from the situation, but if his partner or ex-partner were to follow him, he questioned how he could be to blame for violence. Two men suggested that issues relating to their violence were a fear of losing their partners or ex-partners, with one man saying he had jealous thoughts.

The above extract constructs a mixed picture of the 'factors' thought related to men's violence. Most of these 'factors' were identified in the assessment process and some in practitioners' talk above as the conflated concepts of offender needs and risks. Men may have talked about such 'factors' because of their exposure to them during their assessment and possibly in individual supervision sessions with their case managers. There are investments for men to provide accounts that excuse their behaviours, for example by suggesting alcohol was integral to the incident, because they absolve men of responsibility for their abuse (see Hearn, 1998a; Morran, 1996; Stanko, 1994). In doing so, the perception of their 'self', to others and themselves is unspoiled (see Goffman, 1968, 1971; Sykes and Matza, 1957). The danger of continuing to deploy this talk throughout the course of the programme is that men's accounts may not be accepted within the domain of this intervention. This is because these explanations clear men of responsibility for violence, whereas an objective of the programme is for men to accept responsibility so that they ultimately end their violence.

The programme incorporates the objective for men to accept blame and responsibility for violence because of the feminist principles underpinning the programme. Some feminists have conceptualised alcohol as an excuse and victim blaming as a justification given by men to absolve them of responsibility and blame for violence, respectively (see Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Stanko, 1994; see also Hearn, 1998a; Morran, 1996 and chapter three). The soon to be accredited and

official assessment tool for domestic violence offenders, SARA, views men's assigning of blame to the victim/survivor of the abuse as a *risk* 'factor' that increases the risks of violence (see Kropp *et al.*, 2002). Some feminists consider that it is men's attitudes about women that fuel their use of excuses and justifications, which are the criminogenic *needs* that require change to ultimately end men's violence (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). For these reasons, the programme workers assess all men before they attend the intervention for these distorted views (see Appendix E).

In the session documented above, where men addressed the issues that had arisen in the intense interviews about their violent incidences, their accounts, about their excuses of alcohol and anger were left largely unchallenged by programme workers. There are a number of possible reasons for this. Firstly, the above exercise was in the early stages of the programme: the third week of men's attendance. Breaking down these views at this stage without more in-depth understanding about other concepts linked to intimate violence may have, according to the work of Festinger (1959) and Russell (1995), confused men and caused them psychological discomfort. (See for example what happened when men were confronted about their excuses and justifications for violence in the section 6.4.3 below). Secondly, some men provided solutions to their problems. For example, one man mentioned that he needed to control his anger and another man said he would 'walk away' from the situation, in other words, take a 'time-out'. As discussed in the last chapter, these are accepted and legitimate risk management and reduction strategies taught by the programme. They are part of risk discourse: a discourse that is also circulated widely throughout the other institutional domains of assessment and case management. Lastly, the programme is premised upon cognitive-behavioural approaches, which have been criticised for pathologising offending behaviours (Kendall, 2002, 2004; Lancaster, 1995). If offending is viewed as pathological, then 'factors' such as anger may be accepted as related in some way to the offending behaviour (see Feldman, 1993; see also Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003, 2004). Given that interventions are to target and alter these offence-related 'factors' identified in men's assessment to reduce recidivism (see Home Office, 1999a; McGuire, 2000 and Appendix E) then there may be an endorsement (conscious or unconscious), by programme workers, that the programme can alter pathology via CBT (see Scourfield and Dobash, 1999). This suggests a potential conflict between the combined framework underpinning the DVP of CBT and feminist tenets (see Pence and Shepard, 1988).

Men's positioning and speaking from within discourses is not static: it is changeable and often contradictory (see Davies and Harre, 1990; Hollway, 1998). All seven men attending the group-work at the mid-way point in the programme suggested that they and only they, as opposed to their partners and ex-partners, were to blame for violence. When asked again by programme workers during the last two monthly group work sessions of the programme only five of the six men in attendance said they were to blame completely for violent behaviours. One man, although he had previously accepted blame for violence, at this stage of the programme he blamed his partner or ex-partner for contributing in some way to his abusive behaviours. The investment for men to deploy accounts that illustrate them accepting blame for violence at the end of the programme may be to present a positive image of the 'self' and avoid the possibility of further intervention into their lives for their violent behaviours (see Bottoms, 2001). This is because the perception is presented that the programme has achieved its objective of men accepting blame (and responsibility) for violence, by restructuring their views about men and women. During the course of the programme, and like the man mentioned above, some men failed to deploy what they were being shown during some group-work sessions. The next section discusses this in more detail.

6.4.3 Rehabilitation: Drama-Techniques and the 'One Step Removed' Method

Social learning theory, which CBT is premised on (Feldman, 1993), considers that individuals learn from direct experiences by viewing the violent behaviour of others, and noting the consequences of such actions. An individual can learn both emotional and behavioural responses by watching the reactions of others experiencing pleasant or traumatic experiences. This may produce inhibitions (positive or negative) in the observer despite the behaviour not directed at that individual (Bandura, 1970, 1983).

On the fourth day of the week of group-work men took part in a session, which was delivered by a theatre company. The central theme behind this organisations work is 'the mask'. Workers in this agency work from the premise that masks are 'fronts'. This concept is very similar to Goffman's (1971:32) notion of 'fronts'. Goffman (1971) argues that fronts are the different techniques that individuals deploy in order to create positive impressions for others. The company's aim is for men to lift these masks because they distort men's and other individuals' views of violent behaviours. If men

acquire an undistorted perception of their violence, it is thought that this will initiate the process of change, which for the DVP is about changing offenders' distorted thinking about women to end their violence (see also Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Therefore this exercise is based both on social learning theory and feminist tenets.

In parts of the session the actor from the theatre company mimes a role-play of a fictitious violent man, called Joe, in the home. He also carries out a verbalised role-play of Joe attending a man's domestic violence programme. This is a 'one step removed' mode of delivery (see Roberts and Baim, 1999:231 and section 5.4.3 in chapter five). Most of the session had progressed with men engaging and cooperating with the themes. My observation notes suggest the following:

1st Thursday. The actor is now playing Joe: the fictitious character in a man's programme. The actor has a pile of seven masks beside him. These masks are: (i) 'the angel' – the good guy; (ii) 'the mouth' – bullshit; (iii) 'Mr Cool' – cool 'dude'; (iv) 'the jester' – joker; (v) 'the brick wall' – not getting through; (vi) 'the red fist' – aggression; and (vii) 'the target' – victim. The group, at this point, are given the opportunity to interview Joe about his violent behaviours towards women in intimate relationships. As they do this, the actor playing Joe answers the questions using an assortment of masks, and his responses are dependant upon the mask he is wearing. Joe can be heard to be talking about his violence in ways that suggest him to be 'the good guy' (e.g. I didn't do anything wrong, it was her, meaning his partner or ex-partner is to blame); that show him to be talking bullshit; and not directly answering questions using the 'brick wall' mask. Men are required to take part in this role-play as other members in the fictitious men's group. One man challenges Joe. This man begins to defend women, as opposed to usually blaming them for violence. In doing so, he situates blame for the abuse with Joe.

The response by this man accords with the programme objective of men accepting blame for violence, by restructuring their views about men and women. He has provided a desired response that presents a positive 'self' to others and himself in the group-work. Blaming Joe for intimate violence does not damage his own 'self', because he is not referring to himself but to Joe and his violence (see Roberts and Baim, 1999). However, some men did not deploy what they were shown, particularly when the actor from the theatre company switched from a 'one step removed' method to an approach that focused specifically on the men in the group. One of the last exercises of the session, and that day, was when the actor had in turn arranged for each

man to sit next to him with the other men in the group watching as an audience. The purpose of this exercise was so that the actor could question men, and draw out issues that had arisen throughout the session to see how they related to the man he was specifically working with. My observation notes explain.

1st Thursday. The actor continues confronting men with the key issues that have been highlighted within the session, such as how men justify and excuse their violence. When one of the men is in the 'hot seat', he talks about how he resents his mother for abandoning him when he was a young child, and how much he wants a home and family, but that he does not know what that is [in relation to his own partner or ex-partner and their child or children]. This man is portraying the 'target' mask of himself as victim. The actor challenges the man on using this mask because it facilitates the deployment of excuses for violence, and the aim is for men to lift their masks so that they stop excusing their abusive behaviours. The man perceivably views the actor's challenges as a threat to his 'self' and the perception of this to others, and attacks the actor's comments by 'putting on' the 'fist' mask. In doing this, the man shows signs of non-verbal aggression, since not much is said at this point; but the fixed glare from the man to the actor appeared a warning signal from him to the actor to 'back off'. The man's 'self' at this point is on the verge of being spoiled and the 'fist' mask of aggression is a front to save spoiling the 'self'. Another allied member of the group begins to defend the man's excuses for violence. The theatre company term this an extra front sometimes used by men called the 'life line' mask. In doing this, the man in the 'hot seat' and the other group member have prevented the perception of their 'selves' from being spoiled by 'putting on' masks (i.e. fronts).

This failure to deploy rehabilitation discourse was particularly acute when the actor switched from a 'one step removed' way of working to a more direct approach that focused on the violent men. There is much investment for these men not to talk about a discourse of rehabilitation and feminist based tenets for violence. This is because they involve, according to domestic violence interventions, targeting criminogenic needs in a way that invasively peels back the layers of men's motives for violence, including challenging the underlying thoughts of men (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Morran and Wilson, 1997). Russell (1995) suggests that when abusive men try to change their attitudes they question their existing views and the values that have guided them throughout their lives. This creates confusion and discomfort for some of the men, because these new beliefs (e.g. about men's responsibility for abuse) are not congruent with old attitudes (such as hitting because of anger and loss of control) (Festinger, 1959). This dissonance, Festinger (1959) suggests, needs to be eliminated or reduced by individuals changing one of these beliefs. Otherwise, a

spoiled 'self' is presented to others and themselves (see Goffman, 1968, 1971; Sykes and Matza, 1957).

Overall, the failure to talk about feminist views about why intimate violence happens and how to set about ending it, occurred many times throughout different sessions in the programme by some men. These sessions were denying violence and accepting responsibility (including blame), power and control in intimate relationships, and victims' views. The denying violence and accepting responsibility, and victims' views sessions drew on similar themes to the theatre company session. For the same reasons suggested above, some men did not subscribe to the feminist views of how men excuse and justify their abuse to deflect responsibility and blame for it. Their accounts of violence suggest that some men are averse to conform to the programme objectives and meet with the aim of the intervention. They thus appear opposed to addressing their violence. There is little investment for men to provide accounts that suggest resilience to confronting abusive behaviours like the example illustrated in the above extract in this section, because men risk facing further unwanted intervention into their lives so that their offending behaviours can be 'treated' in some other way (see Bottoms, 2001). However, as suggested above, positioning within discourses are not static or linear processes (Davies and Harre, 1990; Hollway, 1998). Some men's accounts of violence illustrated talk about programme themes and a discourse about changing themselves to potentially end their violence. The next section details this.

6.4.4 Drawing Upon Feminist Perspectives: Investments for Men

As mentioned above, some men were opposed to what they were being shown, yet they also appear to engage in the exercises, as my observation notes suggest relating to the session about power and control in intimate relationships.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ The power and control session and half of the session on denial were the only sessions I did not directly observe, due to illness. However, the power and control session was video-recorded by the programme workers. I subsequently observed the session via this video recording. I also photocopied the notes that one of the programme workers recorded during the actual occurrence of these sessions. Here were details of the sessions including men's responses to the exercises. I have directly observed these sessions in practice before but with another group of men, which I carried out for my MSc (see Ballantyne, 2001). I was thus aware of the particular exercises carried out and the scene of the film shown.

3rd Thursday. Men are shown a video scene from a film. The selected scene shows a man using controlling behaviours against his female partner. For instance, the man is shown to be wiping off his partner's lipstick, presumably because it makes her look attractive to other men. Her partner, who is jealous, does not want this, and so removes it. He is controlling how she looks. Men are subsequently asked to identify what is going on in the film. Six of the nine men in group-work at that time (two men were missing) provided specific responses. Three different men suggested that the man in the video scene was trying to: (i) dominate; (ii) control; and (iii) change his partner. Three men said that the man's female partner in the video scene was: (i) submissive; (ii) always saying sorry; and (iii) was scared of him [...].

These men have provided desired feminist accounts of how and why men commit intimate violence because they suggest the man is controlling the woman in order to dominate her, and she engages in comprising behaviours by being submissive, to reduce the potential for violence (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Mullender, 1996a; Stanko, 1990). As already mentioned, men do not spoil their 'self' by associating with these reasons for intimate violence, because they are making reference to the fictitious character in the film. In doing so, they are not talking about themselves as violent men. By using programme themes in this way, men can be seen to be engaging with the intervention, and thus, complying with their court orders. This method of working carries on throughout this session, as my observation notes continue.

[...] Men are asked to state what 'power' is. Three men put forward responses. One man suggests it is to be the head of something, or in control. Another man said it is to make rules and to expect them to be obeyed, whereas one other man said it was about expectations. Men were also asked to say what 'control' is. Four men give responses to this. One man said it is to get someone to do what you want, another said it was to be in charge, and one other group member said it was to take the lead, expecting others to follow. One man mentioned that it was the use of tactics, to which one of the programme workers replied that there are indeed a number of tactics that could be exercised to gain control.

Men appeared to have heeded feminist principles in three further incidences in the programme where video scenes were shown from films. Men particularly subscribe to feminist tenets of intimate violence when programme workers are operating a 'one step removed' approach. The definitions provided by men in the above extracts about power and control, are considered by feminists as tactics used by men to control their partners and ex-partners (i.e. setting rules and expecting compliance, intimidating women, making decisions such as to how women should look, see Pence and Paymar, 1993).

This session appears to have shown these men the link between how men think, the feelings this engenders, and the resulting behaviours, particularly by drawing on men's thoughts about men and women in intimate relationships (see above aim and objectives of the DVP). Men have deployed talk that illustrates awareness, although from a 'one step removed' perspective, of the perceived criminogenic needs of domestic violence offenders as suggested by feminists, such as distorted thoughts about having a right to dominate women in intimate relationships (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Mullender and Burton, 2000). This awareness sets the foundation for the programme to begin to alter these offender needs to change men to end their violence. Some men have therefore begun to use a discourse of rehabilitation.

As suggested, the exercises detailed in this and the preceding section, were premised on both social learning theory (and thus used CBT via role-plays) and feminist tenets. Men seemed to draw more explicitly and directly on CBT when exercises showed them how to assess, manage and reduce their violence. For example, chapter five discussed how the programme taught anger management techniques such as recognising warning signs of anger and taking 'time-outs' (see Gondolf, 2000b; Kendall, 2004). The next section considers the few instances when and how men drew more explicitly and directly on CBT that moved beyond these risk management/reduction strategies to talk about wanting to change.

6.4.5 Talking About Cognitive Behavioural Therapies: Beyond Risk Management/Reduction

Towards the end of the weekly sessions, almost half way through the programme, men were shown a session on relationships. During this session, men completed a handout that had them assess some of the best and worst things in their intimate relationships, past and present, and to consider what they would change in them. My observation notes suggest the following in response to this exercise.

7th Monday. Men gave their responses to the best things in their intimate relationships. Of the seven men in the group-work at that time (one man was absent) two of them said love, two said sex, and four mentioned children.⁷⁸ When asked about the worst things in their relationships, five men said violence, four said abusive arguments, and one man said alcohol. Men then gave their replies from their completed handouts about what they would change in their intimate relationships with women. Five men mentioned that they would change their previous violent behaviours. One man in particular said he would change his attitude towards relationships and another man remarked that he did not want to be the same person as before.

The above exercise has drawn on official ‘what works’ principles of directly targeting the offending behaviour (see McGuire, 2000) to, in the case of the DVP in my study, unofficially end men’s violence. What has been used in this exercise is CBT and a technique termed ‘motivational interviewing’ (see McGuire, 2000:115). This facilitates offenders’ ‘treatment’ by progressing them to a stage where they are ready to address their problems (Burnett, 1996; McGuire, 2000). It does this in the above exercise by increasing dissonance in the men (see Festinger, 1959 about ‘cognitive dissonance’). When men say that the best thing in their relationship is love and the worst thing is violence, the two are psychologically incompatible.⁷⁹ From this perspective, individuals need to resolve this discomfort and by suggesting that they want to change their violence and their attitude in relationships, this has calmed the dissonance (see Festinger, 1959; see also McGuire, 2000).

In the last chapter, similar exercises were discussed. The aim of these exercises was for men to weigh up the costs and benefits of their violent behaviours in order to perceive that the risks of violence, such as losing ‘family’ and friends indirectly referred to in the above extract, outweigh the rewards of power and control. Drawing on deterrence theories, individuals would then seek to avoid the risky behaviour and focus on actions that reaped rewards (see Clarke, 1980; Cornish and Clarke, 1986). The last chapter suggested that this was a risk management strategy for men to assess, manage and possibly reduce their risks of violence that they presented to their partners and ex-partners. The exercise above appears to move beyond this ‘interruption method’ of interrupting men’s abusive behaviours (see Gondolf, 2000b:1218). What the above is

⁷⁸ Some men provided more than one response.

⁷⁹ This is assuming that intimately violent offenders are not thought to be suffering from any serious ‘mental disturbance’ (see Prins, 1995:87 about mental disorders).

thought to do is for men to draw on the good and bad things in their relationships, weigh this up like in the risk management exercise, but in the session above, men do not just talk about managing risks, they mentioning actually wanting to change. Most of the men stated that they wanted to change their violent behaviours. One man in particular draws, in part, on rehabilitation discourse because he talks about changing his attitudes to change behaviour. When I spoke to the violent men in interviews, they endorsed a belief in changing themselves. However, like some case managers, who also subscribed to a belief in offender change, they failed to deploy fully a discourse of rehabilitation to talk about ending violence (see below section ‘men’s talk’).

Programme workers talk more overtly about rehabilitation discourse. Questionnaires that they had completed illustrated that their work on the programme is to help end men’s violent behaviours. These workers highlighted RESPECT’s (2000) *Statement of Principles and Minimum Standards of Practice* as guiding the work that they do with domestic violence offenders, which refers to the possibility of men becoming ‘non-violent’ (RESPECT, 2000:3). These workers also talk about official ‘what works’ tenets of offender ‘treatment’, which the next section considers. The following segment is not so much ‘programme talk’ but rather ‘practitioners’ talk’ because it illustrates practitioners’ rendition of rehabilitation discourse outside the programme domain. However, this talk is referring to the perpetrator programme, hence its inclusion here in this section (and not in the above section ‘practitioners’ talk’).

6.4.6 Official ‘What Works’ Tenets: Delivering the Programme

Accredited offending behaviour programmes are designed and implemented according to official ‘what works’ guidelines (see Home Office, 1999a; McGuire, 2000). Although the DVP in my study was un-accredited, pending implementation of an accredited version (see Home Office, 2003a), the probation area was still concerned with ‘evidence-based’ practices. Thus, the practitioners delivering the DVP were to work within the realm of effective practice initiatives and the ‘what works’ principles (see Chapman and Hough, 1998). For example, as mentioned, targeting ‘factors’ such as the criminogenic needs and dynamic risk ‘factors’, that are related to the offending behaviours, and that can be modified by the intervention are part of ‘what works’ guidelines (Home Office, 1999a; McGuire, 2000). ‘Treatment’ responsitivity’, discussed in chapter two, is also considered a critical ‘what works’ ‘factor’ increasing

the effectiveness of programmes. It suggests that the methods used in the programme should be compatible with men's learning styles so that men are able to respond to what they are being shown (Home Office, 1999a; McGuire, 2000; Vennard *et al.*, 1997). Jerri, a programme worker, discusses how these concepts are applied in group-work sessions with violent men.

[...] we've used a video and then get the men to do the power and control wheel with a character [fictitious], [...] before they look at themselves [...]. We've done that a couple of times. It seems to work well, and they [men] seem to be much more tuned in to their own power and control stuff, having done it [with a fictitious character], they know what to do for themselves [...] [Jerri, practitioner].

The programme worker is referring to the session detailed in the above section 6.4.4, where a scene was shown from a film about a man using controlling behaviours, and where subsequently the group are asked to note what was going on in the scene. Jerri has provided an account that draws on feminist tenets about identifying the criminogenic needs of the domestically violent man in the video, such as the need to gain power and control over his female partner or ex-partner (see Dobash and Dobash, 1979). Jerri also indicates that the session was delivered in a responsive way because the men engaged with the exercise. Jerri suggests that this is because of not focusing on the men initially, but on a fictitious character (a 'one step removed' mode of delivery). This facilitated men drawing on the character in the video scene, the particular views aired in the group about power and control that according to feminists engender violence against women in intimate relationships, and then the application of these ideas to their own situations.

Programme workers talked about both official risk and unofficial rehabilitation discourse when 'treating' intimately violent men, as illustrated in this and the last chapter. The violent men who they work with also talked about risk discourse and drew, in part, on rehabilitation discourse, as chapter five and this chapter has suggested, respectively. The following section of this chapter illustrates how far some of the violent men drew on rehabilitation discourse. The talk that is shown was used outside of the institutional domains of assessment, case management and the programme. It is

men's talk in the first, second and third interviews that I carried out. These took place at the start of, during, and after the programme.⁸⁰ The next section also considers the plausibility and acceptability of 'men's talk' throughout the three institutional domains suggested. In doing so, it illustrates the legitimacy and influence of the different discourses in the varying domains, and the subsequent investments for men of using particular discourses in these specific domains.

6.5 Men's Talk

6.5.1 Drawing on Rehabilitation: Accepting Blame/Responsibility

Men drew on programme talk to illustrate how they were beginning to accept blame and/or responsibility for violence. In second interviews, five men talked about how the group-work discussions facilitated this. Steven explains.

Interviewer: Just going back to your first point, which was the incident analysis, why did that impact on you?

Respondent: Because you're actually getting it out into the open and you're getting views and you're getting input from other people. You're actually seeing what you've done and I suppose relating it to what other people have done. It hit home that it was domestic violence (Steven, offender, 2nd interview).

Steven suggests that talking in a group with other similarly violent men about his own violence has facilitated his acceptance of blame/responsibility. As mentioned, the DVP considers this an important step for men to end violence (see also Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Steven and other men have investment in talking like this because it illustrates compliance with the DVP and therefore their court orders. Steven's account is likely to be accepted within the programme domain as well as in other institutional domains, like case management, because he has admitted to carrying out criminal behaviours (although he has only admitted to that which he has been convicted). However, just because Steven says that he accepts what he did was domestic violence, does not necessarily mean he will talk about fundamentally changing his attitudes to end such abuse, and hence, draw on rehabilitation discourse. He may proceed to talk about adopting risk management and reduction strategies to

⁸⁰ See chapter four about attrition rates of men over the course of these interviews from ten men interviewed in first interviews, eight men in second interviews, and seven men in final interviews.

reduce violence. For instance, whilst Steven suggests he does not want to commit abuse, shown in the last chapter in section 5.5.3, he says this is because there is no gain (for Steven there might be significant loss in terms of a custodial sentence as he suggested in his talk in the programme, also illustrated in the last chapter). He therefore draws more on risk discourse as opposed to a discourse of rehabilitation.

Few men who talked about beginning to accept blame/responsibility for violence did then talk about changing their attitudes to women. I am going to use examples here and in the following sections from two men, David and Colin, to illustrate this, although only one of these men talked about a *possible* end to his intimate violence. Some men talked about how the role-plays that were used in the DVP also assisted them in beginning to accept blame/responsibility for violence. David is one of three men to suggest this in his third (and final) interview (see also Colin's talk in point number six, in Appendix F).

Interviewer: [...] *can you remember anything in the group work that really helped you?*

Respondent: Basically the guy who came one day with masks and he says you know try one on, as to which mask suits you, the nice man and the nasty man. So I can be a nice man I can be a nasty man but the nasty man always comes out any time I think I have alcohol, *well not anytime* (David, offender, 3rd interview; *my emphasis*).

In his account, David is making sense of his violence. In doing so, and like other men, he provides contradictory accounts. This is because he links his intimate violence with drinking alcohol in all his interviews, yet in the above extract, he appears to be questioning the role of alcohol. This does not mean that he has provided an unacceptable account. His talk is acceptable within the domain of the programme because he seems to be accepting responsibility for abusive behaviours (an aim of the DVP). The following suggests how David may have begun to do this drawing further on programme talk.

6.5.2 Rehabilitation Discourse: Focus on Change

The DVP, whilst it incorporated a number of risk assessment, management and reduction exercises that aimed to *deal with* men's dynamic risk 'factors', also sought to arguably *work with* men by changing their views about women (i.e. altering the criminogenic needs based on feminist tenets). Take for example the exercises detailed in the above section 'programme talk' and specifically in the section 6.4.4. The power and control session was used to show men rigid views. Such views were included in men's responses as getting and expecting someone (like their partner or ex-partner) to do what they want in order to be in control. A later session in the programme about relationships, discussed in the section 6.4.5 above, instils in men notions about changing these distorted ways of thinking by asking them what they would like to change in their intimate relationships with women. Most men talked about changing their past violent behaviours with one man suggesting changing his attitudes towards relationships (in order to change behaviour). The following extract taken from the final interview with David indicates that he is subscribing to these feminist views.

Interviewer: [...] *over a year ago, did you think that women have certain roles and you had a certain role in life?*

Respondent: Basically, I was the king of my castle, and I could do what I wanted to do and that was that. That was a wrong way of thinking, but like I said my eyes were opened up to certain things [...], I don't want her to be afraid of me. I want her to be the way she was when I met her first, which was like [...] if she's got something to say, I want her to be able to say it without thinking 'that's going to upset you [him]'. I'd prefer her to be that way: she's got to have her own opinion on things! [David, offender, 3rd interview]

Three of the seven men in final interviews, including David, talked from within feminist principles about changing attitudes to women (see also Colin's extract in point number four in Appendix F). By drawing on these tenets and CBT, David has apparently assessed, possibly reassessed, and begun to reconstruct his views about men and women in intimate relationships (see also Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Gondolf and Hanneken, 1987). David then appears to have met with an objective of the programme. He may have done this by drawing on the power and control session detailed above and the video scene that was shown of a man controlling the way his partner looked. This is because some of the men's responses to this were that the man

was controlling and trying to change his partner, and that she in turn was scared, submissive and always apologising. Thus, David uses acceptable talk from a feminist perspective about offender change. In doing so, he has drawn, in part, on rehabilitation discourse.

Six out of the seven men in final interviews appeared to believe that they could change or were changing in some way. Their talk is widely acceptable throughout the organisations in the study because men thought that their potential to change was because of the interventions they had been exposed to (see also Bailey, 1995; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Colin explains this below.

I think because of the course, making me think, making me open my eyes to things, and seeing what I've been doing in the past, what I could do in the future to change it all. And I think I've done that, well I am doing [Colin, offender, 3rd interview].

Colin and most of the other men have subscribed to the idea of changing themselves because the programme, including the DVPA, instils this focus in men (see section 'programme talk' and section 6.2.3 about the latter). As suggested above, only three men in final interviews talked about changing thoughts about women. Two of these men (as well as two others) in final interviews still placed blame for violence with their partners or ex-partners (suggesting that they were or would be provoked to act violently or they were or would be acting in self-defence). Again, this further illustrates the contradictory nature of men's narratives about violence (see also Hearn, 1998a; Ptacek, 1988). Moreover, whilst Colin is one of the two men who talks about accepting blame/responsibility for violence *and* changing his thoughts about women, he also makes sense of his violence in his last interview by suggesting that he loses control (see his quote in point number three in Appendix F). Furthermore, whilst both Colin and David talk about accepting blame/responsibility for violence *and* changing their thoughts about women in intimate relationships, David implies a potential end to his violence. This then is the use of rehabilitation discourse and it is illustrated below.

6.5.3 Talking About Rehabilitation or Risk Discourse?

Of the seven men I spoke to in third and final interviews, five of them considered that they still needed to make changes within themselves. Four men talked about this in relation to their possible future behaviours and their risk of abuse. In doing so, they indicated an optimism that equated more with a reduction in their violence as opposed to ending it completely (see also Bailey, 1995; Rex, 1998b). David, following on from his extract above, talks about this.

Yes, yes, I had the wrong attitude and I had the wrong outlook on life. So as from the first couple of times I went to the programme, I was basically, I wouldn't say I was automatically changed over, but it was like I was moving. I was here first [makes gesture with hand to indicate the level he was at], but I started moving up a little bit: just climbing the ladder. I wouldn't say I'm up here or anything [makes further gesture to suggest the top of an imaginary ladder], but I'm probably around here [makes gesture to indicate the middle of this ladder]. But after maybe another ten years I'd probably get up there [David, offender, 3rd interview].

David has made sense of the process of changing his violent behaviours by drawing primarily on what appears a discourse of risk and the talk of risk management. His account is very similar to some of the case manager's rhetoric above that also subscribes to offender change, but does not talk about elimination of criminal behaviours. Instead, David's account suggests 10 years of managing the risks of his violent behaviours, which may lead to a reduction in violence. Yet, David also implies a possible end to his violence, and this is supported by his talk in the section 6.5.2 above about changing his attitudes towards his partner or ex-partner (see also Gondolf, 1988, 2000b; Gondolf and Hanneken, 1987). This then is rehabilitation discourse. Yet this thesis rests on the premise that knowledge is diverse and multiple (see Strinati, 1992). Talk about violence and the realities of such abuse can be very different (see Plummer, 1995). For instance, David also talked in his final interview about committing a recent act of physical violence against his partner or ex-partner.⁸¹

Most men in interviews did not talk about fundamentally changing attitudes to end intimate violence. Authors have suggested that since offenders may not be able to do

⁸¹ Although probation knew about this violence, this did not lead to increased and further intervention. For fear of identifying this man speaking, I cannot expand upon why this is.

this the best strategy is to assess, manage and reduce the risks of harm and re-offending that they present to the public (see Robinson, 1999, 2002; see also Feeley and Simon, 1992; Hudson, 2003). Chapman and Hough (1998:46) argue that ‘the process of change is a difficult and threatening one both for worker and offender’. They suggest that because of the unstable and unsafe circumstances this may engender, it is necessary to implement strategies that manage and reduce risk. Hence, the central focus of risk discourse as an approach to protecting the public from risks posed by offenders (Garland, 1997, 2001; Robinson and McNeill, 2004).

Mark’s explanation, drawn from the final interview with him, about his risk of abuse supports these official concerns and the legitimisation of risk discourse to continuously assess, manage and reduce the risks of harm and re-offending presented by dangerous and violent offenders (see Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001). His account is therefore acceptable within and throughout all institutional domains in the study.

I mean, just because, I’m being honest here, just because we’ve [participants on programme] completed the [domestic violence] programme doesn’t mean that you’ve got to stop learning. It doesn’t mean that you’re cured in any way, manner, or form; the potential is still there! It’s only time, the further in time you go, the lot better the results are going to be. Just because you’ve not done it for the last six months or ten months, it doesn’t mean to say that another six months down the line you’re still going to have the same outlook [Mark, offender, 3rd interview].

This implies the dominance of risk discourse about reducing and possibly ‘temporarily ceasing’ violence, as opposed to any fundamental change in offenders to ultimately end violence.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the deployment of an unofficial discourse of rehabilitation by practitioners and violent men, which runs alongside the use of a more dominant discourse of risk. This dominant discourse is drawn from the official rhetoric within the over-arching context of the probation area, the official ‘evidence-based’ assessment tools, the domain of case management and the programme.

This chapter began by discussing the assessment of violent men. The official assessment tools emphasised identifying offenders' risks in order to manage and possibly reduce them (see Home Office, 2002a, 2002b; see also Kropp *et al.*, 2002). The unofficial assessment for the DVP considered offenders' risks and offenders' needs. Offender risks were noted in terms of the risk of re-offending and offender needs were identified so that they could be changed in order to end men's violence. The DVPA comprised both discourses of risk and rehabilitation, respectively.

This chapter demonstrated further the use of risk management rhetoric by case managers. They talk in this way because they operate within the confines of a managerialist approach, which places increasing demands upon them such as the completion of PSRs, and frequent contacts to be made with offenders (see chapter five). This often limited their capacity to talk about undertaking any in-depth structured and offence-focussed work with offenders (see also Humphrey and Pease, 1992). Offenders with alcohol problems were often 'treated' by organisations outside of the criminal justice system because of the lack of resources, including case managers' time, within the probation area to address such problems (see Home Office, 1996c). Given these demands upon case managers, there are investments for them to position and speak from within a discourse of risk and the talk of risk management rhetoric. In primarily talking about assessing and managing risk 'factors' like alcohol, as opposed to mentioning fundamentally working with offenders, case managers do not spoil the image of the professional 'self'. They considered that the institutional domain of the programme is where this rehabilitation discourse about working with offenders to end violence is talked about the most.

Rehabilitation discourse gained its most influence and legitimacy within the programme domain. However, some men during the programme did not subscribe to notions of change, particularly about accepting blame and responsibility for violence. This was more apparent after programme workers moved from a 'one step removed' method (e.g. using role-plays, scenes from films) to a more direct approach focusing specifically on men and their violence. The 'one step removed' way of working does not damage the perception of men's 'self' to others and themselves because they are not talking about themselves as violent men (see Roberts and Baim, 1999:231), so men used a discourse of rehabilitation when this method was operating in the programme. In doing so, they

talked about men's attitudes towards women in intimate relationships, men's responsibility and blame for violence, the tactics men use to gain control over female partners and ex-partners, and the impact of such abuse on women. There were investments then for men not to use this discourse when exercises focused directly on the men in group-work and their violence. This is because a feminist perspective, on which the programme is premised, suggests that men chose to commit intimate violence to gain and maintain power and control over their partners and ex-partners (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Deploying a perspective that indicates this may spoil the perception of men's 'self', because they may be presented as calculating, misogynistic and abusive. Yet, some of the men subscribed to these feminist views when exercises focused specifically on their violence. In doing so, they accepted blame and responsibility for their violent behaviours (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). Given that this was an objective of the DVP, there is investment for men to align with such views because they appear to have positively engaged with the programme. Further intervention into men's lives is unlikely because men can be seen to have complied with their court orders.

Acceptability of accounts can vary within and throughout domains. This chapter discussed how men provided accounts during the programme that suggested alcohol and/or anger was involved in their abuse. The programme was premised upon feminist tenets. Some feminists consider that men provide such accounts as excuses to absolve them of responsibility for violent behaviours (see Stanko, 1994). These accounts then might not be acceptable within the domain of a feminist based perpetrator programme that suggests men are to accept responsibility for violence in order to initiate the process of changing their abusive behaviours (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). A discourse of risk also flourished throughout the domain of the programme. It was argued then that men's accounts that suggested they were assessing, managing and reducing their risks (e.g. related to anger and/or alcohol) in order for them to manage and reduce their violence may be accepted during the programme.

Outside the domain of the programme, in interviews, violent men, who have been exposed to the assessment process, supervision sessions with case managers, and the DVP have not talked much about the less dominant discourse of rehabilitation. This chapter argued that although offenders mention change with few talking about changing

their attitudes towards women, this often did not suggest talk about ending their violent behaviours. This is similar to case managers' talk. Men often relied on risk discourse to talk about managing and reducing their violence. There may be a number of reasons for this. Offenders may consider talking about fundamental change to end violence difficult (see also Bailey, 1995; Rex, 1998b). Although men may realise that this was the aim of the perpetrator programme, they may also be aware given the exposure of risk discourse during the programme, and in other domains such as assessment and case management, that it is acceptable to talk about just managing and 'where possible' reducing their abusive behaviours (see Home Office, 2002a:C3).

This chapter has then illustrated how practitioners and intimately violent men talk similarly about how to work with intimately violent offenders, in terms of rehabilitation discourse. There are fewer investments for them to use this less dominant talk within the over-arching context of the organisations studied. These investments, like the presentation of an unspoiled 'self', mean that such accounts may still be accepted within some of the institutional domains, particularly the programme, but may be less talked about in other pockets of probation practice studied, such as case management. Individuals' positioning within discourse is not a static process; it is changeable and contradictory (Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999; Hollway, 1998). It varies throughout the different domains because of the legitimacy and influence certain discourses have in these domains (see Foucault, 1989) and the subsequent investments for individuals to speak from within a specific discourse in a certain domain. Understanding this use of discourses has illuminated the organisations' talked about strategies of how to 'treat' intimately violent offenders. Such practices are dominated by the legitimised risk discourse of *dealing with* offenders to assess, manage and reduce the risks of harm and re-offending that they present to the public. They are less influenced by, although still apparent, a residual discourse of rehabilitation about *working with* offenders to change their attitudes and behaviours to end men's violence against women in intimate relationships.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS: USING BOTH DISCOURSES, RESOLVING CONTRADICTION

7.1 Introduction

This final chapter summarises my research and restates the link with existing literature. In doing so, it highlights the distinction between the discourse of risk and the discourse of rehabilitation as ways to ‘treat’ offenders. I review the theoretical and analytical approach of discourse analysis adopted in my study. The key findings and their implications for policy, practice and future research are also discussed. The argument illustrated in this chapter, indeed throughout the thesis, is that practitioners and intimately violent men draw on the official and unofficial rhetoric to talk about risk *and* rehabilitation as ways of dealing and working with intimately violent offenders, respectively. In analysing both ways of talking about ‘treating’ intimately violent offenders, I have attempted to make sense of the use of two seemingly contradictory discourses, and the dominance of one (risk discourse) over the other (rehabilitation discourse) (see Foucault, 1989; Gill, 2000). Risk discourse, as a way of *dealing with* offenders in the *National Probation Service* (NPS) was talked about the most. Rehabilitation discourse, on the other hand, was talked about much less, but it was still mentioned in my study as a way of *working with* intimately violent offenders.

7.2 The Existing Literature

Chapter one illustrated how the probation service’s ethos and practices had changed since the mid 1980s. The political rhetoric of the 1980s and early 1990s was about reducing public spending on criminal justice to limit the use of overcrowded prisons. This turned the focus on community sentences. These needed to be viewed as tough non-custodial penalties that were not seen as alternatives to prison, but as part of the sentencing framework (Worrall and Hoy, 2005). Thus, both Conservative and Labour governments of the 1980s and 1990s were concerned with eradicating the vision of the probation service as a social work agency that helped offenders and substituting a criminal justice organisation that punished them (Mair, 2004b; Robinson and McNeill, 2004; Spencer and Deakin, 2004). The current focus appears to be on the protection of the public from the risks of re-offending (Feeley and Simon, 1992; Garland, 2001; Kemshall, 1995, 1998; Robinson, 1999, 2002; Robinson and McNeill, 2004). This

public protection rhetoric serves to project an image of a publicly and politically accountable criminal justice organisation (Robinson and McNeill, 2004). In chapter two it was argued that this vision facilitated the roll out of accredited programmes within the NPS that did not necessarily have a sound 'evidence-base' (Merrington and Stanley, 2000).

In the current political climate the quest for 'what works' and an 'evidence-base' to support practices in the probation service (Mair, 2004b) mean that evaluations are important (Chapman and Hough, 1998; Underdown, 1998). Much previous research about the 'treatment' of domestic violence offenders in the UK had focused on evaluating perpetrator programmes (see Ballantyne, 2001; Brown and Williams, 1996; Burton *et al.*, 1998; Claytor, 1996; Davies *et al.*, 1996; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Lee, 1999; Skyner and Waters, 1999; Steele, 2000). Chapter two highlighted the methodological difficulties of carrying out evaluative research on offending behaviour programmes. In highlighting the limitations of this research, I questioned the certainty of the knowledge generated from such studies (see for instance Bowen *et al.*, 2002; Burns *et al.*, 1991; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Edleson, 1996; Eisikovits and Edleson, 1989; Gondolf, 2004).

My study began as an evaluative study but due to the methodological limitations and the uncertainty of the knowledge generated from such research, I changed focus to carrying out a discourse analysis. My revised study did not seek to overcome the methodological limitations of evaluative research but rather to provide an alternative approach to studying the 'treatment' of domestic violence offenders. The literature reviewed in chapters one and two noted a disjuncture between the rationales for 'treating' offenders. Studies had considered that the aim of supervision was to reduce re-offending (Burnett, 1996; Rex, 1998b; Robinson, 2002; see also Mair and May, 1997). Other research suggested that it was to eliminate criminal behaviours (Farrall, 2002). Offending behaviour programmes were similarly considered as mechanisms to reduce crime (NPS, 2001) whereas domestic violence programmes were aimed at ending men's violent behaviours (Home Office, 2004d).

The literature discussed in chapter one about the NPS illustrated the dominance of official risk discourse and assessing, managing and reducing risks of re-offending

whereas chapter two about perpetrator programmes highlighted a more residual discourse of rehabilitation about changing offenders' attitudes and behaviours to end crime. Authors had argued that official rhetoric is influential (Garland, 2001) and dominantly upheld by practitioners (Hearn, 1998a, 1998b). Other commentators had implied that this was not always the case (Robinson and McNeill, 2004; see also Garland, 2001). Understanding practitioners' talk is important because it is thought to influence violent men's accounts of abuse (Hearn, 1998a). The context of men's 'treatment' such as a perpetrator programme must also be understood because this may similarly influence men's accounts of violence (see for example Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). My study considered the wider context of men's 'treatment' by carrying out an analysis of the use of discourses on how to 'treat' intimately violent men. The next section reviews this analytical approach.

7.3 Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

Discourse analysis enables the researcher to view knowledge as diverse and multiple. Any claims to 'truth' are questioned (see Strinati, 1992). Findings about whether programmes 'work', how they 'work', who they 'work' for, and when they 'work' (see Mair, 1991; Pawson and Tilley, 1997) are considered uncertain within a discourse analytical perspective. It is thought that it is not possible to know individual motivations and the cause and effect of behaviours (see Burr, 2003), including the extent of men's violence. Evaluative research then, as well as being limited from within its own epistemology (see for instance Pawson and Tilley, 1997 and chapter two), is critiqued from a discourse analytical perspective (see for example Burr, 2003; Gill, 2000 and chapter four).

Previous research that had considered individual's actions as knowable strategies that project a fixed 'self' (see Goffman, 1968, 1971, 1972) is also contested from within a discourse analytical perspective. Although Goffman's (1968, 1971; see also Sykes and Matza, 1957) argument that individuals strive to present a positive image of the 'self' to others and themselves is important to my research, my study rests on the premise that the 'self' is unfixed and not determined in any known way (see Davies and Harre, 1990, 1999). The 'self' is unknown (see Ramazanoglu with Holland, 2002). Foucault (1981, 1989) argues that the meanings of talk and texts should not be sought within the individual who speaks and writes, but within discourse. This does not deny the

existence of the individual but rather it suggests that they narrate from within the historical and institutional confines of discourses (Foucault, 1981, 1989).

To understand the use of discourses in my research, I analysed the structures of the institutional domains of the organisations involved, which were the assessment, case management and programme, as well as the theoretical disciplines and doctrines about ‘treating’ intimately violent offenders. In doing so, it was possible to understand how practitioners and violent men used the dominant and less dominant discourses of risk and rehabilitation, respectively. For instance, in order to understand talk about how to ‘treat’ intimately violent men, chapter three discussed some of the different theoretical perspectives advanced about why domestic violence happens. It was suggested that male violence against women in intimate relationships is thought to occur, for example, because of ‘factors’ outside an offender’s control (Ferri, 1996) such as individual pathology (see Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003) and social circumstance (see O’Brien, 1971). It is also perceived that domestic violence is chosen behaviour (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). As implied above and in chapter four, discourse analysis does not advocate the superiority of one form of knowledge over another (see Burr, 2003; Jackson, 1992). All knowledge is viewed as multiple and diverse (see Strinati, 1992).

What my study does is to make sense of contradictions (see Gill, 2000; see also Foucault, 1989). In the same way as the two discourses of risk and rehabilitation are made coherent, contradictory perspectives about the aetiology of domestic violence offending are made sense of. For instance, the organisations in my study noted individual and socially offence-related ‘factors’ when they were assessing the violent men, such as mental illness, stress from work. Yet, men were ‘treated’ for their violence via a feminist-based programme that is underpinned by the notion that such behaviours are rationally chosen. Thus, a possible explanation has been given for the contradiction between abnormality (individual pathology/social circumstance) and sanity (a chosen course of action), by men and practitioners drawing on the different discourses that fluctuate in their importance depending on context and possibly time. As suggested, this example illustrates how it is that two seemingly opposing perspectives like that of risk and rehabilitation can be used to talk about how to ‘treat’ intimately violent men. The following section discusses this finding in more detail.

7.4 Key Findings

My research suggested that practitioners and intimately violent men used official (and unofficial) rhetoric to talk predominantly about a discourse of risk in relation to the ‘treatment’ of intimately violent men, but still mentioned a residual discourse of rehabilitation. Important to this finding is the influence of the institutional domains of the assessment, case management and programme, and the investments individuals have in rendering different accounts within and throughout these domains. Although risk discourse was talked about in all these domains, it was the domain of case management where it was particularly dominant. This discourse bifurcated into risk management and risk reduction with the former more prominently talked about than the latter. Official rhetoric suggests managing offenders’ risks and ‘*where possible*’ reducing these risks (see Home Office, 2002a: C3; *my emphasis*; see also Home Office, 2001). Drawing on this rhetoric, practitioners’, particularly case managers, talked more about managing offenders’ risks (including assessing them) as opposed to talk about reducing risks. There are perceived investments for case managers to talk this way. Case managers suggested that the time they had available to spend in individual supervision sessions with offenders was limited (see also Humphrey and Pease, 1992). In their talk they implied focusing their time on practices concerned with risk management, for example making contact with offenders, as opposed to risk reduction, for instance targeting criminogenic needs and dynamic risk ‘factors’ (see McGuire, 2000).

My study also suggested that intimately violent men’s talk was similar to practitioners’ talk (see also Hearn, 1998a). Men deployed risk discourse. Yet practitioners and men talked about a discourse of risk in different ways. Case managers talked about managing an offender’s risks of violence, for instance, by monitoring his intake of alcohol during a supervision session. Programme workers showed men in group-work sessions how to manage their violent behaviours by walking away from an abusive situation to reduce the risk of violence (i.e. taking a ‘time-out’). Intimately violent men talked during the programme, and in interviews, about managing *and* reducing their own risks of violence. For example, they talked about taking a ‘time-out’, and monitoring and reducing their consumption of alcohol. Therefore, whilst case managers primarily talked about risk discourse in terms of risk management strategies, the programme manual and programme workers, and intimately violent men talked about

risk management and risk reduction strategies. The investments for men to use risk discourse is that they are implying managing and reducing their violence in officially acceptable ways. They then suggest complying with their court order. Moreover, using risk discourse does not necessarily suggest men accept responsibility for violence. They may talk about managing their use of alcohol to reduce violence. This situates responsibility for abuse onto alcohol. In doing so, men present a positive image of the 'self'.

In terms of talk about reducing the risks of re-offending, the official rhetoric suggests that it is important to target the 'factors' that are related to the offending behaviours: the criminogenic needs and dynamic risk 'factors' (McGuire, 2000). My study highlighted how the official (and unofficial) literature conflates offenders' needs with offenders' risks by suggesting that altering criminogenic needs will reduce risks of re-offending (Andrews and Bonta, 1994; Aubrey and Hough, 1997; Calverley *et al.*, 2004; Home Office, 2002a, 2002b). In my study, findings suggest that case managers talked more about the assessment and management of risk 'factors' like alcohol than talking about reducing the risk that such 'factors' present to re-offending behaviours. Most case managers believed in carrying out work with offenders to change them, yet some case managers saw 'change' as synonymous with reducing risks of re-offending. Case managers did not talk about fundamentally working with offenders to alter attitudes to end violence. As mentioned, this is because of the demands upon case managers and the limited amount of time they had available to spend in supervision sessions with offenders. Case managers often referred offenders with alcohol problems to an 'outside agency' for 'treatment' (see for example Home Office, 1996c and Burnett, 1996). Dynamic risk 'factors' then were considered as part of official risk discourse, which is about assessing, managing and reducing the risks of violence. Non-criminogenic needs or welfare issues were also viewed as part of risk discourse because practitioners saw them as integral in some way to the smooth management of offenders throughout their court orders. Criminogenic needs, on the other hand, comprised part of residual rehabilitation discourse because they are obstacles to be addressed in order to change offenders' attitudes and behaviours to stop them from offending (see for instance Farrall, 2002).

It was in the domain of the perpetrator programme that programme workers, drawing from the programme manual, talked about offenders' needs, such as men's negative thoughts about women, as requiring change so that men could end their violence. This was because ending men's abuse was the unofficial aim of the domestic violence programme (DVP). It was unofficial because the programme was not accredited. This was the domain where rehabilitation discourse was talked about the most. Some of the violent men used this discourse in the domain of the programme more so when workers were delivering the programme at 'one step removed', where the focus was on men in general as opposed to the violent men in group-work (see Roberts and Baim, 1999:231). The violent men in my study talked about men's attitudes towards women in intimate relationships, men's responsibility and blame for violence, the tactics men use to gain control over female partners and ex-partners, and the impact of such abuse on women, when exercises did not focus on them, because it did not present a negative image of their 'selves'. Few men in interviews talked about accepting blame and responsibility for violence *and* changing their attitudes about women in intimate relationships. Most men in interviews did not use a discourse of rehabilitation. As suggested, they mainly used a discourse of risk to talk about managing and reducing their violence.

Practitioners and intimately violent men talked about both risk and rehabilitation as ways to 'treat' intimately violent men, in the probation area involved in my study. There was a spatial and possibly a temporal element to the narrative in my study because it changed slightly in different contexts (e.g. rehabilitation discourse was used more in the perpetrator programme) and possibly over time. For example, in later interviews, men seemed to draw on the language of the programme to name a particular risk management/reduction strategy such as a 'time-out' or to talk about how they were changing (see also Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). In terms of the latter, chapter six suggested how one man in his final interview drew on the programme to talk about changing his attitudes about women to potentially end his violence, thereby illustrating his use of rehabilitation discourse. This man used this discourse because he had been exposed to it and there were investments for him to use it (i.e. it suggested compliance with the DVP and thus his court order). Other violent men might have used this discourse because they too had been exposed to it and there were similar investments for them. Instead, they drew more on a dominant discourse of risk to talk about their violence. Hence, the path of discourse does not following any fixed

or predictable pattern (Davies and Harre, 1990; Hollway, 1998). The next part of this chapter considers the implications of these findings.

7.5 Implications of the Findings

7.5.1 Significant Issues for Policy and Practice

There are implications of my findings for policy, practice and research. In terms of policy and practice, although there was a dominance of risk discourse within case management, it was noted that case managers talked more about risk management practices than risk reduction strategies. Yet they suggested monitoring offenders' risks in a minimal way. This was because of the limited resources within the probation area, including the small amount of time case managers had available for offender's supervision. My study suggested that whilst it appeared case managers were 'doing their job', their information about offender risk was dependant on 10 minute sessions in which the offender told them about the risks they did or did not present (see Hearn, 1998a; Home Office, 2004a; Morran, 1996). This finding may not accord with the official rhetoric that suggests resources should be targeted at the most risky offenders (Home Office, 2001, 2002c). This finding also does not appear to concord with the official stance exemplified in *National Standards* that states the purpose of the minimum level of offender contact is 'to satisfy the courts and the community that a *credible level* of disciplined supervision is taking place' (Home Office, 2002a:D1; *my emphasis*). This does not signify new Labour's vision of a credible probation service that is tough on criminals in the community (see Spencer and Deakin, 2004). This could be interpreted as the government only giving lip service to their stated policies by equipping the probation service with enough resources to monitor offenders on a minimal basis. Practitioners are therefore unable to put official talk fully into practice.

This has far-reaching implications for an organisation that claims to protect the public (see NPS, 2001). The use of cheaper non-custodial penalties, such as a Community Rehabilitation Order to manage offender risks do not appear in my study as legitimate strategies to protect the public (see Pitts, 1992) because female partners and ex-partners may be at an increased risk from re-offending behaviours and the related risks of harm than assessed by case managers. This may be more so when case managers do not have contact with victims/survivors, like those in my study; and furthermore, when they do not focus on risk reduction strategies. This finding appears to support some feminist

arguments about prison being necessary to incapacitate men to protect women (see Horley, 1990). It would seem then that the probation area in my research requires more resources to target (this includes reducing) offenders' risks in order to protect the public particularly female victims/survivors of domestic violence in a more appropriate manner. This may not be commensurate with the government's economical allocation of resources or rather 'economising' in the probation service (Fowles, 1990:98; Home Office 1996c) and the *National Standards* to manage and 'where possible' reduce offenders' risks (Home Office, 2002a: C3; *my emphasis*).

There are further practical implications of the use of risk discourse in domestic violence programmes. Previous research has documented how domestic violence programmes focus on interrupting violence through anger-management techniques as opposed to emphasising stopping violence by instigating fundamental change in the offender (Gondolf, 1988, 2000b; Gondolf and Russell, 1986). The DVP in my study appeared to use both risk discourse about risk assessment, management and reduction of violence, as well as rehabilitation discourse about changing attitudes and behaviours to end abuse. Therefore, despite the aim of the DVP being to end men's violence it was still focused on risk management strategies to reduce men's abusive behaviours. It has been noted that the nationally accredited *Integrated Domestic Abuse Programme* (IDAP) also seeks to end men's violence. Like the programme in my study, it appears to be driven from a cognitive-behavioural perspective. Unlike the DVP in my research area, the IDAP does not appear to be explicitly underpinned by feminist tenets; though there are some sessions that seem to be influenced by feminists (see Home Office, 2004d).

Care might need to be taken to ensure that domestic violence programmes are not dominated by a singular approach such as cognitive-behaviourism and its seemingly predominant emphasis on risk management/reduction strategies (see for example chapter five). More space and emphasis might need to be allocated to feminist tenets and possibly cognitive-behavioural techniques that specifically focus on altering men's thoughts about women in intimate relationships in order to end intimate violence (see Ballantyne, 2001; Gondolf, 1988, 2000b; Gondolf and Russell, 1986). For example, during the programme men in my study seemed to talk more about attitudes and abusive behaviours towards women in intimate relationships when the programme was delivered at 'one step removed', where the focus was on men in general (e.g. using role-

plays, scenes from films), as opposed to men in group-work. This 'one step removed' mode of working may be a useful way to incorporate exercises in domestic violence programmes to show men the link between the thoughts they have about women, the feelings this engenders and the resulting behaviours (i.e. drawing on CBT), like the DVP in my study, because domestic violence offenders do not spoil the image of the 'self' when talking at 'one step removed' (see Roberts and Baim, 1999:231).

The appearance of feminism in my study as a less dominant way of thinking and the dominance of risk discourse has further implications for both feminist researchers, and female victims/survivors of domestic violence. With respect to feminist researchers and activists, where previously they might have considered that their views about intimate violence were heeded by statutory organisations via the implementation of feminist tenets in practice, this appears to be happening alongside a more over-arching dominant rhetoric of risk management: a rhetoric that is driven by a managerialist approach that focuses on the wider goals of the organisation (Cavadino *et al.*, 1999:101), such as the reduction of crime (NPS, 2001). However, as Hollway (1998) suggests the reproduction and circulation of discourses are not fixed. Certain discourses do not always form dominant knowledge. Discourses compete often contradictorily for dominant status. Feminism and feminist research serve as alternative perspectives that compete to challenge dominant forms of knowledge, particularly their lack of attention to women and gender (Harding, 1987; Hollway, 1998).

The implications of the dominance of risk discourse for female victims/survivors of domestic violence are potentially serious. Chapter one discussed how expensive and scarce resources, like offending behaviour programmes, are allocated to the more risky offenders (Home Office, 2002c; Partridge, 2004; Robinson, 2002; see also Garland, 1997, 2001) in order to reduce re-offending (see NPS, 2001). For the most part, the intimately violent men in my study were convicted in the criminal courts of violent offences. They were subsequently mandated to the supervision of the NPS and allocated to a perpetrator programme normally reserved for risky offenders. This (domestic violence) programme was not an accredited programme. It sought to change men's attitudes about women in intimate relationships and for them to accept blame and responsibility for abusive behaviours in order to end men's violence. It also showed men how to assess and manage their violent behaviours by walking away from an

abusive situation to reduce the risk of violence. Case managers in their supervision of offenders also talked about managing an offender's risks of violence by monitoring his intake of alcohol during a supervision session. It appears that men in my study drew on a dominant discourse of risk to talk about assessing, managing and reducing their risks of violence. In doing so, men talked about deflecting responsibility for their violence by placing it onto 'factors' such as alcohol. By implying that they are managing and reducing their alcohol intake, they are suggesting that they are managing and reducing their violence. In a similar vein, when they indicate taking a 'time-out', they do so to suggest that they are managing and reducing their abusive behaviours. The talk about using such techniques to *manage* and possibly *reduce* violence appears to be 'acceptable' talk.

It is 'acceptable' for intimately violent men to draw on official risk discourse and the rhetoric of risk management/reduction, in ways that may deflect responsibility for abuse, to talk about *just* reducing violence. The use of risk discourse is indicative of the criminal justice organisation, the NPS that protects the public (see Home Office, 2002a; NPS, 2001; see also Robinson and McNeill, 2004). Such talk implies that some violence against women is acceptable, if not inevitable because it seems that men can commit intimate violence against their partners and ex-partners during their supervision of a court order and whilst they are attending a domestic violence programme. As suggested, feminist activists advocate sending violent men to prison to protect women while men are in prison (as well as to send out the message to men that violence against women is not acceptable) (Horley, 1990; see also Mullender, 1996a). Men in my study who continue to abuse partners and ex-partners may risk further unwanted intervention into their lives. This does not necessarily mean they face the possibility of a prison sentence (see for example chapter five about two men who simply had their contacts increased with their case managers because they continued to abuse their partners/ex-partners) (see also Farrall, 2002; Mullender and Burton, 2001).⁸² Violent men's talk about *just* reducing violence symbolises compliance with their court order. As mentioned in chapter six, some authors suggest that it may not be possible to end crime,

⁸² As mentioned in chapter five, offences have to be termed 'so serious' to be afforded a custodial sentence (Gibson *et al.*, 1994:29; Wasik and Taylor, 1991:156; see Ward and Davies, 2004:365 in relation to the recent *Criminal Justice Act 2003*).

and the best strategy is to manage and reduce it (see Robinson, 1999, 2002; see also Chapman and Hough, 1998; Feeley and Simon, 1992; Hudson, 2003). RESPECT's (2004) revised standards suggest that whilst they recognise men can become non-violent, perpetrator programmes cannot cure all men's violent behaviours, although they can sometimes reduce them. Some of the violent men in my study talked about the potential risks of harm they *continued* to present to their current and former female partners, as well as the *ongoing* nature of the abuse perpetrated against them, with minimal consequences.

7.5.2 Further Research

7.5.2.1 Implications for Researchers

From a discourse analysis perspective, as suggested, it is not possible to know about individual motivation and the cause and effect of behaviours or interventions (see Burr, 2003). Under this analytical approach, knowledge is viewed as much more diverse and complex: it is uncertain (Strinati, 1992). My study suggested that men's accounts of violence were non-linear and contradictory. They did not make sense (see also Hearn, 1998a; Ptacek, 1988). Evaluative research attempts to make sense of individuals' offending behaviours by seeking 'truth' about the extent of men's violence, as well as trying to establish linear stories of change. Chapter two discussed the difficulties faced by researchers in trying to carry this out. Discourse analysis, on the other hand, accepts the complex and contradictory nature of accounts but still makes sense of them (see Foucault, 1989; Gill, 2000). Thus, evaluative research belongs to an epistemology in stark difference to the analytical approach of discourse analysis (see Burr, 2003).

My study began by questioning the usefulness of evaluations in terms of the knowledge drawn from them about 'what works' in offender 'treatment'. As suggested in chapter two, using bigger samples in more perceivably rigorously designed evaluations may still not establish 'what works'. The problem it seems is not so much whether interventions 'work', rather how we *know* they work. The questions about 'what works' in offender 'treatment' are so difficult for researchers to answer that in the light of my research, it would seem they are in need of a radical re-think. Evaluations of perpetrator programmes that fail to consider other aspects of offender 'treatment' outside of the programme do not have an in-depth understanding of how men can represent their behaviours differently (using discourse) in the different contexts of their 'treatment' (i.e.

how they continue to use an account that may not be acceptable in the programme but is acceptable elsewhere in their contact with other parts of the criminal justice organisation). However, it could be argued that since interviews are another domain then a researcher might gain insight from these about how men can represent their behaviours differently in different contexts. Yet their analysis may not be as detailed about this as my study because I am illustrating how men varyingly represent their behaviours (using discourses) from *within* the different domains (e.g. by observing the programme, analysing case files).

Future studies might shift focus then to consider how knowledge about 'what works' is constructed and circulated, and how practitioners and violent men draw on this to represent their behaviours. Whilst other researchers have acknowledged that there is a possibility that violent men may draw on the language of the programme to do this (Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000), studies need to expand upon this to consider the wider influence of the institutional (and historical) contexts of men's 'treatment' and the dominant rhetoric within on individuals' talk. This could also explore further the temporal nature of language and possibly discourse, discussed above. To facilitate this, researchers should consider gathering data at different points in time rather than just using one off interviews to understand talk. The debate about 'what works' must however acknowledge the difficulties of linking talk with an actual 'reality' (see for example Burr, 2003). Whilst other researchers have also recognised this to some extent by incorporating the views of partners and ex-partners of violent men in evaluative studies (see Burton *et al.*, 1998; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000; Lee, 1999) and crosschecking records to try to ascertain men's level of violence (see Steele, 2000), I am not simply saying that men's stories of violence differ from their partners' or ex-partners' or from what their files say. I am suggesting that how violent men represent their behaviours alters often contradictorily in a non-linear fashion from sentence to sentence, domain to domain and through time. It is by adopting a discourse analysis that their talk is made sense of and understanding gained (see Foucault, 1989; Gill, 2000).

The final implication to be discussed in this section is a political and methodological one. Kemshall (2000:468) warns against disturbing the *status quo*:

challenging and deconstructing the dominant official discourse of risk is not without risk. Researchers run the danger of placing themselves outside the 'funding loop' or, at best, of having their work sidelined as being concerned with marginal sociological issues irrelevant to the work of policy implementation.

The extract above refers to what might be perceived as carrying out less dominant research. This may serve as a warning to feminists who seek to challenge the dominance of risk discourse discussed in the above section but it might also be applied to my study of discourse. As suggested, evaluations are considered important because of the government's quest for 'evidence-based' practices (see Chapman and Hough, 1998). However, my research argued that evaluations of domestic violence programmes were complex, but generated uncertain knowledge. My study provides an alternative way of looking at the 'treatment' of intimately violent offenders. As such, it challenges the current domination of evaluative research on domestic violence programmes. This could have implications for me as a researcher. This thesis has been risky because I am arguing for an approach that is different to that of existing research in this field. This could affect not only my ability to gain funding but also my future career in academia (see also Skinner, 2005, who faced a similar dilemma).

7.5.2.2 Future Research Possibilities

There are three main areas indicated by the thesis that require further research, all of which could benefit from adopting the alternative approach of discourse analysis to study the 'treatment' of offenders. Firstly, the demands on case managers could be explored in terms of how they affect the workload of less qualified officers, such as probation service officers (see for instance Home Office, 2001, 2002c), or how the demands on case managers affect management targets, and the link between these and the use of 'treatment' discourses (e.g. understanding how probation service officers and senior managers talk about risk discourse and the rhetoric of risk management).

Secondly future research might try to further illuminate theoretical arguments contained in this thesis by understanding the influence of other contexts on practitioners' and offenders' accounts about intimate violence and interventions to 'treat' such abuse. For instance, research might consider how violent men who are serving custodial sentences talk about their violence and 'treatment'. Hearn (1998a) found that men who were in

prison convicted of murder, often talked from a viewpoint of a violent man convicted of murder. Thus, men often began interviews with details of their violence. This is because the agency context had defined them in this way (i.e. a murderer). Therefore, further research might look at the dominant rhetoric and discourses produced and circulated within the context of men's prisons. Such institutions are perceived for the most part as 'closed' male dominated disciplinary, possibly oppressive arenas (see Foucault, 1977): a setting that appears different to that of the NPS. It would be interesting in this context to consider the talk about how to 'treat' intimately violent men, what the dominant official rhetoric is relating to this, the use of alternate perhaps less dominant discourse, and how this use of discourse differs from that rendered in the NPS. This would involve understanding prison officers' (and other practitioners') use of discourses also.

Thirdly, another context for further research might be outside the criminal justice system. In light of the two other contexts suggested above of the NPS and the prison, it would be interesting to understand the use of discourse by intimately violent men who have no connections with state-sanctioned agencies, as service users or service providers including partnered NGOs. Such research would seek to understand how these men talk about their violent behaviours and about interventions to 'treat' such abuse. It would therefore be illuminating to note the use of discourses within and throughout these varying contexts.

Accessing violent men who are outside the criminal justice system is problematic (there are also ethical and safety issues which I will not go into too much detail here but must be addressed in such research, see below). The criminal justice system assists criminological researchers in that it readily identifies, albeit in a potentially biased way (see Lea and Young, 1996), intimately violent men. Conducting criminological research outside the criminal justice system, like that of researchers who have infiltrated very specific groups of offenders like burglars (see Wright and Decker, 1994,) is difficult because intimately violent men are dispersed throughout populations in terms of their age, social class, race and ethnicity/culture (see Home Office, 2004d; Johnston, 1988; Mullender, 1996a; Russell, 1982). However, a review of the American and Canadian research claims a connection between intimately violent men and their similarly male abusive friends, and support (or lack of reprimand) amongst them for

violence against women in intimate relationships (see DeKeseredy, 1990). If this is the case, then 'snowball sampling' might be a useful technique to use to access such men (see Arber, 1993:73).⁸³

As mentioned, there are safety and ethical issues that must be addressed in this prospective research. Wright and Decker (1994) encountered potentially violent situations during their close involvement with burglars in their study. As well as similar concerns about safety, carrying out research on intimately violent men who have not been involved with the criminal justice system raises serious ethical dilemmas for researchers. In chapter four, I discussed how the rights of research participants in my study were overridden by the protection of the public (see also Scully, 1990). Therefore, men were made aware that the confidentiality of their responses would be overruled if they were thought to pose a serious risk of harm to themselves or others. In this prospective research, this might not be practical. Few men might include themselves in such a study where there was no guarantee that their stories of violence would remain confidential, especially if they have no previous connections to criminal justice agencies. Moreover, this apparent lack of concern for the public's safety, particularly the risk of violence to women and children, might raise doubts about the ethics of researchers and the research they carry out in circumstances where violence is thought to be ongoing (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000).

Notwithstanding the methodological difficulties in gaining access to men outside the criminal justice system, as well as the ethical and safety issues inherent in such research (which I have only touched upon here), it is worthwhile for researchers to seek ways to carry out research on this population in order to consider their use of discourse about how to 'treat' intimately violent men, and situate this in relation to those men within the criminal justice system. It may be that men outside criminal justice organisations represent their violence in very different ways. This may be because their investments

⁸³ Snowball sampling obtains a sample where there is no list to use as a sampling frame. It can be used where potential members of a sample are networked in some way and who share characteristics that are of interest to the researcher (such as intimately violent man who have no connections to the criminal justice system). What happens is *when* contact has been made with a violent man they are asked for details of other violent men (passed onto the researcher with participants' consent) who have similarly not been involved with the criminal justice system. In this sense, the sample snowballs (Arber, 1993). Wright and Decker (1994) used this strategy in their research on active burglars.

to talk from within a particular perspective are dissimilar to men in the criminal justice system. As suggested, convicted men invest in talking from a risk management and reduction perspective because it suggests compliance with their court orders, thereby diminishing the likelihood of further unwanted intervention into their lives for their violent behaviours. It may be that men outside the criminal justice system not only have alternative investments for positioning with particular discourses and outwith others, but the rhetoric exposed to them may be somewhat different to that which convicted men supervised by the NPS and contained by the prison service are influenced by. Thus, risk and rehabilitation discourses may only be dominant and less dominant respectively within criminal justice domains, and that outside this arena, alternative discourses might come into play, such as that of social crime prevention (which was discussed in chapter two). These suggestions are speculative, but it may be the case that by studying the use of discourses in other contexts, researchers begin to understand the significance or otherwise of alternative discourses. Researching intimately violent men within the criminal justice system taps into only a small minority of men in England and Wales who are violent to women in intimate relationships (see Mirrlees-Black, 1999).

Appendix A

‘Model’ Interview Guide for Men*

FIRST INTERVIEW:

Offending Behaviour

1. Ask what he thinks domestic violence is (this is to understand and situate his responses).⁸⁴
2. Ask about his abusive behaviours that he has committed against women in intimate relationships (convicted or not).
 - a. When did they first start?
 - b. What types of violent behaviours?
3. Ask about the most recent domestic violence attack.
 - a. How did it start?
 - b. What happened?
 - c. How often do attacks occur?
4. Clarify the current domestic situation.
 - a. Are you in a relationship with the partner whom you committed violence against?
 - b. Do you live with the partner whom you committed violence against?

Programme Information

5. Ask how he feels about attending this programme (e.g. what are his expectations of it?)⁸⁵

SECOND AND THIRD INTERVIEWS:

Group-Work Sessions

6. What do you remember from group-work sessions, that has had the most impact upon you?
 - a. How has this impacted upon you? Please provide examples.
 - b. Why do you think this has impacted upon you the most?
7. What other parts of these sessions do you remember as being valuable to you?
 - a. Why were these parts valuable to you?
 - b. Have they made a difference to your thoughts or behaviour? If so, how (please provide examples)?
8. What do you remember from these group-work sessions as having the least impact upon you? Why do you think they had little effect upon you?
9. Were there any parts of these programme sessions that you did not understand?
 - a. What parts were these?
 - b. Why do you think you did not understand them?
10. What was not covered in the group-work sessions that you would have liked to be included? Why would you have liked this to be addressed?

* Interviews were semi-structured. Thus in the course of the interviews other questions, that may not be contained in this ‘model’ guide, were asked. These questions explored in more detail the specificity of the interviewees’ responses.

⁸⁴ Some of the men’s interviews took place during the first week of the DVP. During this stage of the intervention men are shown what domestic violence behaviours comprise. Some men were then perhaps influenced by such ideas.

⁸⁵ Since some of the men’s interviews took place during the first week of the DVP, some men may have drawn on what they had been exposed to whilst attending the programme.

Changes

11. Do you think you have made any changes in the way you think?
 - a. What changes have taken place (please provide examples)?
 - b. Do you think any differently about women/violence in general?
12. Do you think you have made any changes in your behaviour? What changes have taken place (please provide examples)?
13. What changes do you think you still need to make? Are you finding anything difficult in making these changes?
14. What have you learned about why you were/are violent and abusive?

Group Work

15. How did you feel about discussing your problems and abusive behaviours within a group?
 - a. Were you able to do this?
 - b. What did you think of the other men in the group?

Case Manager's Work

16. During the domestic violence programme, when you may have occasionally seen your case manager, can you remember any of the work you did with them?
 - a. Provide examples of the work remembered.
 - b. Has this work helped you? If so, how?

Future Plans (third interview only)

17. What are your plans for the future, in terms of how you intend to reduce or eliminate your violent and abusive behaviours?
 - a. Are you going to seek other help from elsewhere? If so, where?
 - b. Will your case manager be an important source of help for you? If so, how? If not, why?
 - c. How do you see the future for you and your partner/ex-partner?

Some of the above questions have been adapted from: Brown, I. and Williams, K. (1996) *The Worth Project: Evaluation of the first schedule 1A programme for perpetrators of domestic violence*. West Yorkshire Probation Service, Unpublished.

Appendix B
‘Model’ Interview Guide for Practitioners*

CASE MANAGERS

Assessing Risk

1. Ascertain how familiar the case manager is with the circumstances surrounding the offence.
Ask for details about:
 - a. the offence.
 - b. the victim.
 - c. severity of the violence inflicted.
 - d. number and types of previous convictions, and when received.
2. Ask about the tools used to ascertain risk.
 - a. What are they?
 - b. Are they validated/accredited?
 - c. Are they relevant to domestic violence offenders/offences?
3. Ask for clarification on the risk category assigned to the offender. Note the implications for
 - a. victim/survivor,
 - b. children and
 - c. members of staff/public.

Work Undertaken/To be Carried out

4. Ask for specific details and examples of work carried out with the offender.
 - a. Did you receive the pre-programme work from the domestic violence team? Have you carried out any work using this? If yes, what was covered? If no, why not?
 - b. Ask for details and types of other work carried out pre-programme?
 - c. Do you think the work carried out so far with the offender has been useful? If so, how do you know this?
5. Ask if he thinks the offender is suitable for the domestic violence programme? If yes, why does he think this? If no, discuss the implications.
6. Ask for specific details about examples of work to be carried out, if any. Does this work compliment/reinforce or duplicate work already being done on the programme?
7. Ask about the channels of communication between programme workers.
 - a. Do you share and exchange information with programme workers regarding concerns about the offender’s behaviour and circumstances?
 - b. Do the programme workers inform you of any concerns about the offender’s behaviour and circumstances?

* Interviews were semi-structured. Thus in the course of the interviews other questions, that may not be contained in this ‘model’ guide, were asked. These questions explored in more detail the specificity of the interviewees’ responses. For example, the interview with the ‘specific probation worker’ particularly discussed the local set-up of case management.

A Changing Role

8. Do you see your role as a case manager changing? Explore the following:
 - a. becoming more integrated with the work of the domestic violence programme and the programme workers?
 - b. returning to more 'rehabilitative' work with offenders?
 - c. What do you think about these changes, if any?
9. How do you think your role should develop?
10. What do you think of the pending accredited domestic violence programme?
 - a. Do you know much about it?
 - b. Have you been informed of any implications for case managers when an accredited domestic violence programme is rolled-out?

SPECIFIC PROBATION WORKER

11. Explore case management and integration of programmes.
 - a. What do you see as the aims of case management/case managers?
 - b. Have there been any changes in relation to the way case manager's supervise cases that have a condition to attend an accredited programme? Does this apply to the domestic violence programme?
 - c. How often should case managers see their cases whilst they are attending a programme?
 - d. What should case managers be doing with their cases (apply to domestic violence programme also)
 - before attending a programme?
 - whilst attending a programme?
 - after completing a programme?
 - are there any guidelines to case managers about this?
 - do you think case managers have the resources, like time, to do this?

PROGRAMME WORKERS

Assessing Risk and Targeting Criminogenic Need

12. Ask for further details, if necessary, about how men come to attend the domestic violence programme (both court-mandated and 'self-referred').
13. Ask about the assessment tools used to assess risk.
 - a. What are they?
 - b. Are they validated/accredited?
 - c. Are they suitable for use with domestic violence offenders?
14. Ask about any type of work carried out with the offender before he commences on the programme (please provide examples)?
15. Ask for details about the assessment procedure. When is it carried out (e.g. is it carried out before the PSR)?
16. What happens to offenders who fail to start the domestic violence programme? Or who drop out of the domestic violence programme (i.e. in terms of breaching orders)?

The Programme

17. Ask about the origins of the programme.
 - a. Where did it come from?
 - b. Who wrote it?

18. Explore the breakdown of the programme in terms of length and format.
19. Request to see a copy of the aim and objectives of the domestic violence programme (and to obtain a copy of the programme manual).
20. What are the channels of communication between programme workers, women's support worker and case managers to safeguard the safety of women and children? What happens when men disclose risks of violence during the programme?
21. Ask for more details, if necessary, about the theoretical framework underpinning the programme.
22. Is the programme delivered as per the programme manual and in its intended format? If no, what are the reasons for this?
23. Are there particular methods of working with the participants that are better than others (please provide examples)?

A Changing Programme

24. What would it mean to have an accredited domestic violence programme?
 - a. How do you think the programme will assess and target offenders?
 - b. When do you think an accredited programme will be rolled-out?

Appendix C The Initial Coding Frame (1)

Category	Property (Theorising)	Dimension	Further Dimensions
Talk About Violence	Positivist/Individual	1.* Alcohol	2. Forgetting X
		3. Anger Biology X Illegal Drugs X Loss of Control Mental Health	
	Positivist/Sociological	4. Cycle of Violence/Upbringing Lack of Communication X Finances X Employment X Stress (e.g. from work)	
	Classicism/Rational Choice	5. Risks and Rewards Opportunity Reparation X Shame X Guilt	
	Classicism/ Feminism (power and control)	6. Jealousy Intimidation Isolation	
		Male Privilege	7. Female Submission, Sexual Ownership
		8. Victim Blaming	Provocation, Self- Defence
		9. Repetitive	
		10. Private	

X = dimension excluded from further analysis.

* The numbering within this table is *solely* to assist with reading across the two tables presented in this appendix (see below). It does not indicate that themes are divided. Alcohol is part of the individual positivist theories like anger and loss of control.

The table indicates that talk relating to the dimensions (i.e. themes) of cycle of violence/upbringing and stress are part of sociological positivist theories that explain offending behaviours as learned in childhood/adolescence or as the outcome of stress, respectively (see chapter three). Some feminists consider that violence is used to control women. A number of tactics have been linked to this (see Pence and Paymar, 1993). Some of these are illustrated in the table above. For example, talk in the programme (i.e. programme talk) and in offenders' interviews (i.e. men's talk) indicated that abuse was to intimidate and to isolate the victim/survivor. Issues of jealousy were also mentioned. Talk also highlighted rights of men. These are reflected in statements about expecting women to be compliant and for them to be owned sexually by men. Themes of victim blaming were identified in the data. Men talked about being provoked to violence and defending themselves from attack. Talk also suggested that violence was repetitive and sometimes carried out in private. Chapter four discusses themes relating to the properties of positivist/individual and classicism/rational choice.

Other dimensions shown in the above table such as alcohol-forgetting, biology, illegal drugs, lack of communication, finances, employment, reparation and shame were excluded from further analysis. Alcohol-forgetting is about not remembering the incident because of claiming to be intoxicated. Biology relates to the biological make-up of men that is thought to make them violent. Similarly, illegal drugs, lack of communication, finances and employment is about their perceived role in violent behaviours. Reparation is about saying sorry for abusive behaviours after the incident. Shame is how an offender feels after their violence. The reasons for excluding these dimensions are twofold. Firstly, the level of detail I had gathered about these ideas was minimal. Secondly, whilst these themes may have formed part of key discourses, other themes provided better illustrations of these discourses, in part because of the increased level of detail I had about these other themes. For instance, alcohol-forgetting, biology, illegal drugs, lack of communication, finances and employment were seen as part of positivist explanations about intimate violence and were aligned more closely to a discourse of risk. Reparation and shame were considered part of classicism and might have formed aspects of rehabilitation discourse (the table in Appendix G below indicates how these themes were or might have been linked to these discourses).

Where Themes Were Mentioned

The table below shows where themes were mentioned. It illustrates that talk can be replicated throughout domains (see also similar Table in Appendix D). For example, almost three-quarters of men talked about alcohol and violence in third interviews. It was also discussed in just over three-quarters of group-work sessions. Many practitioners, who were mainly case managers, also referred to alcohol and violence. Talk can also differ throughout domains. For instance, half of the violent men in first interviews said that they committed violence in order to defend themselves. This was mentioned in one group-work session.

Dimensions and Further Dimensions	Assessment (Case Files)	Offenders (1 st Interview)	Offenders (2 nd Interview)	Offenders (3 rd Interview)	Practitioners (Interviews)	Programme Sessions (Observation /Manual)*
1. Alcohol	14	6	3	5	6	18
2. Alcohol – Forgetting X		2		1		1
3. Anger	10	6	6	7	3	12
Biology X		1	1	1		3
Illegal Drugs X	1	1			2	1
Loss of Control	8	2	3	5	1	7
Mental Health	5	5	2	2	1	6
4. Cycle of Violence/ Upbringing	4	2	2	3	2	10
Lack of Communication X			2	2		4
Finances X	1	2	1	1		4
Employment X	2	1	1	2		4
Stress	7		2	2		4
5. Risks and Rewards		9	6	6		12
Opportunity		8	4	4	2	6
Reparation X		2		1		2
Shame X		1				2
Guilt (accept some responsibility and possibly blame)	10**	8	2	5	1	14
6. Jealousy	6***	3		1		8
Intimidation		5	3	4		8
Isolation		3		2		6
7. Female Submission	3***	8	1	3	2	12
Sexual Ownership		4		1		6
8. Victim Blaming (total)****	10**	9	4	4		11
Provocation	4	7	4	4		9
Self-Defence	2	5	1	2		1
9. Repetitive (Abuse)	18	8	2	4	4	11
10. Private (in Nature)		7	2	2		12
TOTAL SAID (power and control, themes 6-10)****		9	4	6	5	12
Total Interviewed/ Number of Sessions	*****	10	8	7	10*****	23*****

*The specific sessions cannot be outlined in case of identifying the programme and location of the study (see chapter two for overview of session themes).

**See Appendix E and theme blame/responsibility, unaccept/accept (i.e. accept responsibility/blame victim).

***See Appendix E and theme attitudes to women.

****Individuals can talk in general *and* about any of the dimensions related to victim blaming and power and control.

*****This column is about the total *mentions* of themes throughout the different assessment tools (see Appendix E).

*****Negligibly includes data from programme and women's support workers since they did not talk specifically about individual men and their violent behaviours.

*****The programme was delivered as consisting of eighteen core sessions and five monthly relapse sessions (see chapter three for details of sessions that were excluded).

Appendix D Coding Frame (2)

Category	Property	Dimension	Further Dimensions	
Talk About Interventions	Assessment (see appendix E)	Accommodation X		
		Alcohol		
		Anger		
		Attitudes to Women		
		Blame/Responsibility		
		Cycle of Violence		
		Educated X		
		Finances and Employment X		
		Illegal Drugs X		
		Levels of Literacy X		
		Loss of Control		
		Mental Health		
		Motivation to Change		
		Motivation to Engage		
		Stress		
		Previous Violence		
		Future Violence		
	Case Management	Demands (prioritised by risk management)	1.* PSRs, Enforcement, High-Risk Offenders, Management Targets X,	2. Limited Resources (e.g. staff), Session Time, Funding, Grade of Staff X,
		Divisive Model	3. Assessment, Programme, 'Outside Agency'	Camps of Knowledge/Practice
		Tasks (influenced by risk management)	Making Contact (as per <i>National Standards</i>)	4. Reducing Contact, Minimal Contact, Increasing Contact, Satisfied Contact
			Non-Criminogenic Needs	5. Discussed, Discussed to Manage Risk
			Criminogenic Needs	6. About Attitudes/Alcohol, Discussed, Unaware/Done Pre-Programme Work, Lack of Work, Seen as Risks
			Assessing/Managing Risk	7. Of Alcohol/Anger, Useful Tools, Difficulties in Assessing, 'General Chatting', Lack of Victim Contact, Custody X,
			(Pre)-Programme Work	8. Belief in Structured Work /Change in Men, Motivation X
	Programme	Changes (men's thoughts about women in relationships)	Accept Blame/Responsibility for Violence	9. Change in Attitudes about Women, Belief in Change/Wants Help, Changes Ongoing, At Risk of Abuse, Group Discussions /Interactions, Role-Plays
		Changes (managing/reducing risk, managing/reducing violence)	Risks/Rewards of Violence (i.e. Not Choosing /Choosing)	10. In General, Criminal Justice Sanctions (i.e. custody), Loss of 'Family' and Friends, Loss of employment X, Presence of children/ Power and Control
			11. Denouncing Abuse	
			(Avoiding) Opportunities for Violence	12. Partners/Ex-partners, Co-habiting
			Techniques	13. 'Time-out', Recognise/Manage Anger, Manage Alcohol, Communication X, Problem Solving, Counselling, 'Self-talk'**

X = dimension excluded from further analysis

*Again, the numbering is solely to assist with reading across the two tables presented in this appendix.

**The latter three concepts of problem solving, counselling and 'self-talk' can also be viewed as techniques that might change men's thoughts about women (see chapter five).

The table overleaf suggests that some of the themes identified in the assessment of the violent men are similar to those in the category of 'talk about violence' (see Appendix C). This is because when men are assessed it involves them talking about their violence so that practitioners can draw out the 'factors' thought integral to domestic violence offending. Some of the themes found in the assessment data have been excluded. Accommodation, education, finances and employment, illegal drugs and levels of literacy were dropped from further analysis because the level of detail about them was small. They illustrated themes that were categorised as positivist/sociological and thus formed part of risk discourse (see the table in Appendix G to understand this link). Instead, I have included other themes in the analysis about the role of social structural 'factors' in domestic violence that I had more details about (e.g. cycle of violence, stress). Appendix E illustrates the assessment data in more detail.

In explaining what happens in case management, chapter four discussed the demands upon case managers. This paragraph details their key tasks and the division of probation practices. With respect to the latter, the data generally suggested separate areas of assessment, programme and 'outside agency' that each had its own kinds of knowledge and modes of practice (illustrated by the demarcation of the properties in the table overleaf). In relation to the tasks of case managers, these were about making contact with offenders, discussing non-criminogenic needs and criminogenic needs, assessing and managing risk, and carrying out (pre)-programme work. Drawing on practitioners' talk, these tasks were eventually thought about as influenced by risk management. The following highlights this, as I discuss each of these practices in turn. Making contact with offenders was talked about in terms of reducing contact or making the minimum contact because offender risk was thought to have reduced or not to have increased, respectively. Contact was increased if there was a perceived increased risk of violence. Offenders also talked in interviews about these contacts suggesting that they were satisfied. Non-criminogenic needs were discussed in supervision. From interview data with offenders, it was considered that they were discussed in general (e.g. issues relating to employment, problems in general). Interviews with practitioners suggest that they were discussed with the aim of managing risk. Practitioners also talked about discussing criminogenic needs (i.e. attitudes and alcohol). Drawing on offenders' interview data, the criminogenic needs, that is the 'factors' thought related to offending, were generally discussed. The task of pre-programme work was meant to be carried out to perceivably focus on these criminogenic needs, although some case managers were unaware of such work, most did not carry it out (because of time). It was noted that there was a lack of working with offenders' criminogenic needs. Instead, some practitioners viewed such needs as risks (and thus managed them as such).

Moving onto the task of assessing and managing risk, here alcohol and anger were talked about by practitioners. So was the usefulness of instruments (that assessed risk). The difficulties in assessing risk were also discussed. It was considered that in terms of assessing and managing risk, supervision sessions were used to chat to offenders about any concerns. This theme of 'general chatting' was particularly noted in the light of the theme lack of work, which implied that no structured written work was undertaken by case managers to focus on offenders' criminogenic needs, whilst the violent men attended the programme (see above paragraph). Moreover, the theme of 'general chatting' was particularly linked to another theme of lack of victim contact. When case managers assess and manage offender risk, they suggested that they made little contact with the victim (implying then that they relied primarily on the narratives of men during their chat in supervision sessions to assess and manage risk). The last task of case management noted in the table overleaf is that of (pre)-programme work. Practitioners' talk about programme work, including pre-programme work, illustrated a belief in such work and a belief that offenders can change.

Again, dimensions such as management targets, grade of staff, custody and motivation were excluded from the analysis because they were less frequently identified in the data. More talk was needed about these concepts to understand them. Thus, it was unclear how, and if, their significance linked or added to the emerging ideas about the data. For example, in terms of grade of staff, more data is required to understand how the demands on case managers, who are primarily probation officers, affect the workload of less qualified officers, such as probation service officers (see also Home Office, 2001, 2002c). This might be achieved by interviewing probation service officers (which I did not do). Similarly, it was unclear how the demands on case managers affected management targets because there was little data in my study from senior management. Moreover, it was unclear how, if at all, custodial sentences were used to assess/manage risk and how (pre)-programme work was used to motivate men. Most practitioners did not talk about these concepts in part because their frame of reference did not allow them to do so (e.g. only one practitioner carried out some form of pre-programme work, and most practitioners were working within the framework of a community sentence to assess and manage risk).

A theme that appears less frequently in the data does not mean that it should be automatically excluded from further analysis. It needs to be situated within the wider picture that the data is presenting as well as within the existing literature in order to be made sense of. For instance, it was noted that one of case managers' tasks was to carry out some pre-programme work in order to target criminogenic need. Only one practitioner talked about carrying out such work with offenders before the start of the programme (see Table below about Where Themes Were Mentioned, in this Appendix). This concept is important in terms of its relation to the more dominant themes that were re-occurring. It served to emphasise the emerging arguments of the thesis about the lack of work carried out with offenders by case managers pre- and during the programme. This is similarly the situation when only one practitioner mentioned reducing offender contact and about the difficulties in assessing offender risk. These themes are similarly important to the central developing arguments of my research because of their relation to the more frequently mentioned themes. Reducing contact with the offender highlighted a *perceived* apparent reduction in the risk of re-

offending, whereas the difficulties in assessing risk illustrated the uncertainty of knowledge about offender risk (see chapter five).

The remainder of this appendix discusses the talk about the intervention of the programme. The changes that were talked about were men's thoughts about women in intimate relationships and managing/reducing risk, managing/reducing violence. Chapter four discusses the former. In relation to the latter, the responses by individuals were about not choosing and choosing violence because of the risks and rewards, respectively; denouncing abuse; avoiding opportunities for violence; and learning techniques. I will discuss each of these in more detail. Men's talk and programme talk indicated that violence was not chosen because of the risks in general. The theme was termed 'in general' because some narratives whilst they implied there were costs to their violence they did not necessarily specify what these were. Where talk did indicate what the risks of abuse were, these were considered to be because of the threat of criminal justice sanctions, losing partners, children and friends, and the presence of children who may witness violence. The rewards of choosing to commit violent behaviours are linked to the feminist concepts of power and control (e.g. female submission, sexual ownership, noted in Appendix C). Men's and programme talk was also about not wanting to act violently (i.e. denouncing abuse). Some of these statements overlap with talk about not choosing to act abusively because of risks, and there are overlaps with other themes such as techniques, belief in change/wants help and changes ongoing. For instance, men thought that some of the techniques that they had learnt could assist them in not being violent, or that the 'help' in general that they were getting from interventions would facilitate an end to violence.⁸⁶ Additionally, men's desire not to want to act violently was thought about as a process of changes (see chapters five and six for further clarification). Therefore, talk about denouncing abuse does not necessarily illustrate changing thoughts about women in relationships (hence its inclusion here as a risk management/reduction strategy). Men also spoke about avoiding opportunities for violence. Such talk implied that partners and ex-partners, and co-habiting with them provide opportunities for abusive behaviours. Finally, men's and programme talk suggested there were a number of techniques that could be used or were being used to manage and reduce risks of violence. These included 'time-out' (walking away from an abusive argument); recognising and managing anger (which might include taking a 'time-out'); managing alcohol in terms of consumption; problem-solving skills; counselling; and 'self-talk' (i.e. changing negative thoughts into positive ones).

Concepts such as loss of employment and communication were excluded from further analysis because of their infrequent mentions and thus lack of data to understand them in more detail. Such concepts did not add to the process of developing theory. The following table in this Appendix illustrates where themes were mentioned. Whilst it may appear that the themes loss of 'family' and friends, and presence of children are not talked about much, they are included in the analysis because the narratives relating to these themes illustrate key techniques used and taught during programme sessions, for example, motivational interviewing and 'self-talk', respectively (see chapters five and six). Moreover, the theme co-habiting also appears within the analysis, despite being infrequently talked about because it comprised part of a more dominant re-occurring theme of (avoiding) opportunities for violence.

Finally, where reference has been made in chapters five and six to data from the periodic questionnaires administered to men and practitioners about the domain of case management, this has been noted in this bottom table by 'q'. The data obtained from these questionnaires reflects the data gathered in interviews, hence its exclusion from the table overleaf.

⁸⁶ This 'help' is not synonymous with the help of the welfare-focused approach where the focus was not necessarily on offending behaviours (see chapter one).

Where Themes Were Mentioned

Further Dimensions	Offenders (1 st Interview)	Offenders (2 nd Interview)	Offenders (3 rd Interview)	Practitioner (Interviews/ Questionnaire)	Programme Sessions (Observation/ Manual)
1. PSRs Enforcement High-Risk Offenders Management Targets X				5 6 3 1	
2. Limited Resources Session Time Funding Grade of Staff X				5 5 3 2	
3. Assessment Programme 'Outside Agency'				7 7 3	
4. Reducing Contact Minimal Contact*				1 (q)	
Increasing Contact*		6	4	5 (q)	
Satisfied Contact*			2	3	
5. Discussed*			6		
Discussed to Manage Risk		1	2		
6. About Attitudes About Alcohol				6	
Discussed*				2	
Unaware Pre-Programme Work		2	3	2 (q)	
Done Pre-Programme Work*	2			2	
Lack of Work				1	
Seen as Risks				6 (q)	
7. Of Alcohol Of Anger Useful Tools Difficulties in Assessing 'General Chatting' Lack of Victim Contact Custody X				3 2 3 1 2 3 (q) 1	
8. Belief in Structured Work*		1		5	
Belief in Change in Men				3	
Motivation X				1	
9. Change in Attitude about Women	1	1	3	2	5
Belief in Change/Wants Help**	7	6	6		2
Changes Ongoing	8	7	5		2
At Risk of Abuse	5	2	4	2	3
Group Discussions/Interactions		5	4		2
Role-Plays		4	3		4
10. In General Criminal Justice Sanctions		5	3		
Loss of 'Family' and Friends	1	1	3		2
Loss of Employment X	1				4
Presence of Children/					1
Power and Control	1				4
TOTAL SAID (risk/reward)	6			1	12
11. Denouncing Abuse	9	6	6		
12. Partners/Ex-partners	2	7	4		2
Co-habiting	6	4	4		3
TOTAL SAID (avoid) opportunity	2				
13. 'Time-out'	8	4	4		
Recognise/Manage Anger	4	7	5		8
Manage Alcohol	4	5	7		10
Communication X	4	3	2		6
Problem Solving		1	1	2	4
Counselling (e.g. alcohol misuse)	7	5	7		5
'Self-talk'	4	4	4	2	6
	4	4	4	1	6
Total Interviewed/ Number of Sessions	10	8	7	10***	23

* Offenders were asked about their contacts with case managers (see Appendix A and chapter four).

**See also Appendix E motivation to change, and motivation to engage with DVP.

***Data obtained from programme and women's support workers is presented here in a negligible way because their talk about the programme is very general (themes 9-13: programme workers' data is presented more within the text to outline the DVPA and the DVP). Themes 1-8 do not relate to these workers because they did not specifically talk about case management.

Appendix E
Assessing Offenders' Needs and Risks Via Assessment Tools (and Previous Convictions)

<i>Offender Needs and Risks Identified</i>	<i>Assessment Tools, Previous Convictions and Proposed 'Treatment'</i>					
	DVPA*	OASys**	PSR***	Total Mentions	Previous Convictions	'Treating' Needs and Risks as per Assessment Tool
Accommodation X	1		1	2		
Alcohol	7	3	4	14	3	Address in supervision (x2, OASys) Further assessment (x1, DVPA) Referral to alcohol advice (x1, PSR)
Anger	4	1	5	10	2	Anger management work (x1, OASys) Anger management work with CM (x1, PSR)
Attitudes to Women (e.g. discriminatory)	5	1	3	9		
Blame/Responsibility Unaccept/Accept	11	2	7	20		
Cycle of Violence	2		2	4		
Educated-well (not a need/risk) X		1	3	4		
Finances and Employment X		2	1	3		Referral to employment agency (x1, OASys)
Illegal Drugs X	1			1	1	
Levels of Literacy (poor) X		1	1	2		Referral to basic skills tutor (x2, OASys, PSR)
Loss of Control	8			8		
Mental Health (e.g. depression)	2	1	2	5		
Motivation to Change	11			11		
Motivation to Engage with DVP	7		2	9		
Stress (e.g. from work)	6		1	7		
Previous Domestic Violence	11	2	5	18	2	Pre- and post- DVP work with CM (x2, PSR)
Future Domestic Violence (at risk)	7	5	8	20		
Total Other Convictions (e.g. theft)	2	3	6	11	6	
Number of Files	11	5	8	-	8	

X = dimension excluded from further analysis

*Domestic Violence Programme Assessment

**Offender Assessment System

***Pre-Sentence Report

Source: Case Files

Appendix F

Identifying Themes: The Process of Coding

This appendix illustrates how text was coded. The themes and corresponding text have been selected to illustrate the coding process and the link between this and the coding frames. Albeit one quote is shown to represent a particular theme or themes (as one quote may contain several themes), it should be read as a collective representation that mirrors other similar narratives of the theme or themes in question. This is also the case in chapters five and six where I present more of the data to discuss the findings.

1. Theme: Alcohol

*You said it went wrong with [partners'/ex-partners' name]. Can you pinpoint anything after the [number of] years why it went wrong? Was there anything going on?**

'I don't know 'cause a lot of the trouble with me and [partners'/ex-partners' name] was 'cause I was drinking a lot at the time [...]' (Colin, offender, 1st interview).

[...] I see it as the alcohol problem as more important [than the violence] because it's the alcohol really that's making all the arguments and that. I still need to come to this course [DVP], but I feel that the alcohol is more of a priority [...]. As soon as I get this drinking problem sorted everything will be much better anyway.

Right, so you very much see it as the drink causing the problems?

Yeah [Ryan, offender, 1st interview].

2. Themes: Guilt (accept responsibility) and Victim Blaming-Provocation

5th and 6th Tuesday. During the last two monthly sessions of the programme men are asked again about responsibility for violence. They are asked to detail who or what is responsible for their abusive behaviours. One man suggests that he takes full responsibility for hitting his partner/ex-partner but states that she manipulated him. He indicates that he accepts responsibility for the abuse but blames her for it because she was toying with his emotions (Field Note of Observations).

2a. Including Self-Defence

[...] but it got to a stage where she hit me I hit her back, basically, like in a self-defence. Nobody believed me on the course, I don't give two monkeys. But it was like she winds me up [...], I hit her or slapped her or pushed her whatever, you know what I mean (Tony, offender, 3rd interview).

3. Themes: Stress, Anger and Loss of Control

Was there anything in the sessions, well you've said that sometimes there were things you wanted covered, but was there anything in particular that you felt should have been covered and wasn't?

I think a lot of it we had sort of touched on briefly, but there were certain things, problems I had leading up to the offence. I mean there was a lot of work stress, although I'm not holding my hand up in any which way saying it's because of this and this, there was a genuine build-up to somebody losing their temper. They do lose control because there either pissed off now or run down. But thinking differently, certain times you just do not think along certain lines, and you think everything is against me. And there's a way of putting it across. It's not acceptable the reaction you did or how you handled it, it can be acceptable to recognise what's leading up to it [the violence] (John, offender, 2nd interview).

3a. Loss of Control

[...] I think there is something wrong with me because I seem to go however long it is, whether it's six months whether it's six years, nothing. And then one day I just flip, and I'll totally ruin everything that I've had (Colin, offender, 3rd interview).

4. Themes: Cycle of Violence/Upbringing, Power and Control-Intimidation, Female Submission, and Change in Attitudes about Women

What have you learned then through the course about why you were violent and abusive, why do you think you were?

A lot of it was to do with I think, the way that I'd gone through life, the way I'd gone through some other relationships, things that I'd seen go off in my life as a kid. I just, I don't know, I just went into a relationship thinking well I'm the man and you're the woman and that's it, I will have the power and you will be the woman.

What did that entail having the power then?

Well, nothing really because it just wrecked relationships.

But what did it mean for you to have the power?

Well, it made me feel good didn't it. The fact that I had the power to say if I want something you will do it, and the fact that even though it wasn't what I wanted, the fact that I threatened her to death, and she felt well if she didn't do it, what's going to happen. That's the power that I had. And not that I didn't know that I had that power, because I didn't I didn't see it.

Why did you feel you needed the power in a relationship?

I don't know, maybe because like I say because of my life.

Where had you seen other people with power in relationships?

Mum and dads, uncles, aunties, you name it.

The man always had [the power]?

Yeah.

Give me an example of a man displaying power in a relationship?

Well like my dad, my dad was the power in the house. He was the one who wore the trousers, my mam had to do what he said!

Such as?

Dinners. Just general things, just general life. You know if it weren't done, there was an argument. Possibly violence as well, depending how bad the argument escalated. And they're things that I'd seen when I was growing up [...]

So what do you think a man is about in a relationship now?

Equal. Not I want you will give. It's just got to be equal; you've got to share things.

So after growing up, a lifetime of thinking one thing, what made you start to think this way then?

The course [the domestic violence programme] (Colin, offender, 3rd interview).

4a. Power and Control –Jealousy and Sexual Ownership

[...] I accused her of sleeping with somebody else [...]

Why did you accuse her of sleeping with someone else?

Because the way her attitude is, her body language [Tony, offender, 1st interview].

5. Themes: Denouncing Abuse, Anger, Recognise/Manage Anger and 'Time-Out'

[...] I don't want to go into another relationship with an attitude like this and behaving like I'm behaving.

Do you think it [violence] is about attitude then?

I think it's about sitting back and addressing the issue and I think it's about not losing your temper [...]

Do you think it stems from the way you think about situations?

Yeah, I think it's losing my temper and not thinking. Getting into a situation and not taking one step back and looking at the best way out, and just striking out (Steven, offender, 1st interview).

5a. Anger and Recognise/Manage Anger

It's made me think [the DVP] about how you deal with things and how anger and frustration sometimes can turn a normally placid person into using abusive words [...] [Mark, offender, 2nd interview].

6. Themes: Accepting Blame/Responsibility - Role-Plays and Group Discussions/Interactions

[...] what do you remember as having the most impact on you can you single something out from the sessions?

If I was to single anything out of the sessions I'd say it was the actor who done the masks.

Why?

I suppose because it was entertaining. Everything that we'd been doing on the course, it's kind of like drummed into you, but that bit of the course was entertaining, so I think that's why it's left me with a longer thought. Even though that I do think of the issues that are spoke about, that's the one that stands out the most, is his portrayal of violence and the masks.

[...] and did the masks have any kind of impact on you?

The masks did have an impact. I think they possibly had a bigger impact than I realised at the time because the way he perceived me when he wanted me to sit there and pick out which masks [he wore] [...] there were certain issues in the masks that I had a lot of trouble with dealing with (Colin, offender, 2nd interview, talking about 'role-plays').

Being open and honest in front of a group of people you don't know does have an impact on you. It makes you realise just how bad you really are (Mark, offender, 2nd interview, talking about 'group discussions/interactions').

7. Themes: Minimal Contact

What do you do when you see her (case manager)?

Nothing. She says, 'hello'. She says, 'is everything all right?' I say, 'yes it's fine.' She says, 'there's nothing I can do for you.' She gives me a piece of paper and says 'I'll see you in two weeks.' It takes about six minutes (Steven, offender, 2nd interview).

[...] most of the blokes [on the programme] that I've spoke to they've said yep I spend more time in the waiting room [of the probation offices]. I'm in the office 'hiya how you doing, ok, ta ra', and done and finished [supervision] [...] (Mark, offender, 3rd interview).

8. Themes: Belief in Structured Work

[...] ordinarily when offenders are on the domestic violence programme, traditionally, that would be it, they wouldn't be having contact [with their case manager]. But I'm aware of the changes and as with the other accredited programmes that we do, we have to do other work. If I can do it, it's to their benefit, because I'm reinforcing hopefully what's going on in the programme [...] (Jack, practitioner).

I think it's something that plants the seed [pre-programme work], because I don't think they [offenders] can't not go away and think about the stuff that they've talked about just because it's about them and it's so personal [...] (Emily, practitioner).

* Italics represent my questions to interviewees, unless stated otherwise.

Appendix G

Integrating Categories: Developing Theory

This table uses the themes shown in points 1-8 in Appendix F to illustrate how categories integrate.

THEMES (examples): Talk about Violence/ Intervention	THEORISING I: Individual Pathology/ Sociological Positivism	THEORISING II: Feminist Theorising	LINKS TO: 'What Works'	LINKS TO: Talk about Interventions	MAIN CATEGORY: Discourses
1. Alcohol linked to abuse	Alcohol as dis-inhibitor	Alcohol as an excuse	Dynamic Risk (increases risks of violence)	Alcohol monitored by Case Manager/ Referral to 'outside agency' for 'treatment'	Risk (assessment, management, and reduction of offending behaviour)
2. Guilt (accept responsibility), Victim Blaming -Provocation/ Self-Defence	Women addicted to excitement of violence	Women blamed for men's intentional use of violence	'Treatment' as premised upon feminist thinking	Programme attempts to teach men about the intentional use of their abuse	Rehabilitation (changing offenders' attitudes to end violence)
3. Stress, Anger, and Loss of Control	Stress, Anger and Loss of Control contributing to men's violence	Men deflect responsibility for abuse by using excuses	'Treatment' as skills-based (to reduce re-offending)	Programme teaches recognising and managing anger	Risk (assessment, management and reduction of offending behaviour)
4. Cycle of Violence/ Upbringing, Power and Control, Change in Attitudes about Women	Dysfunctional thoughts linked to abuse (e.g. violence as learned)	Men's thoughts about controlling women integral to violence	CBT and feminist thinking targets criminogenic need	Programme educates men about their thoughts about women in relationships	Rehabilitation (changing offenders' attitudes to end violence)
5. Denouncing Abuse, Anger, Recognise/ Manage Anger, 'Time-out'	Anger as reason for violence	Anger used as an excuse for men's violence	'Treatment' as skills-based (to reduce re-offending)	Programme teaches men to identify anger and to take a 'time-out'	Risk (assessment, management and reduction of offending behaviour)
6. Accepting Blame/ Responsibility - Role-Plays and Group Discussions/ Interactions	Responsibility for violence resting with 'factors' such as alcohol and anger	Men solely responsible and blameworthy for their violence	'Treatment' as responsive and premised upon feminist thinking/ Group-work considered optimal	Programme is responsive in attempting to teach men in group-work about the instrumental and intentional use of their abuse	Rehabilitation (changing offenders' attitudes to end violence)
7. Making minimal contact with the offender	(Assess and manage) 'factors' thought integral to violence (e.g. alcohol, anger)	Links to classicism and notions about increase risks and decrease rewards of violence (i.e. deterrence)	Enforcing orders/ Assessing, managing and 'where possible' reduce risk	Contact with offenders in accordance with <i>National Standards</i>	Risk (assessment, management and reduction of offending behaviour)
8. Belief in carrying out work with offenders during supervision	(Target) 'factors' such as anger thought integral to violence	(Challenging) men's negative thoughts about women as linked to abuse	Integration of the case manager within accredited programmes	Carrying out pre- and post-programme work	Rehabilitation (changing offenders' attitudes to end violence)

The themes in point numbers one and two in the table overleaf in this appendix are discussed in detail in chapter four. The following explains the remainder of the table. Themes in point number three are drawn from an offender talking about how stress may have led him to become angry and lose control (see point number three in Appendix F; see also further table in Appendix C for how many other men discussed these themes). The table in this appendix illustrates how positivism might view 'factors' of stress, anger and loss of control as possibly contributing to men's abusive behaviours. This is in contrast to some feminist theorising that suggests men use these 'factors' as excuses to deflect responsibility for violence (see for example Hearn, 1998a; see also chapter three). Categories of 'talk about violence' and 'talk about interventions' are linked because the programme indicated teaching men how to recognise and manage their anger. Similarly, 'what works' tenets suggest that offender 'treatment' is skills-based in order to reduce re-offending (see McGuire, 2000). This then is the use of risk discourse about assessing, managing and reducing offending behaviours. Themes in point number five in the table can also be read in a similar way.

The use of rehabilitation discourse is illustrated by themes in point number four, about the cycle of violence/upbringing, power and control, and change in attitudes about women, when talking about intimate violence. Here, positivist theorising might consider that it is dysfunctional thoughts that are connected to abusive behaviours. I provide an example in Appendix F, point number four, to illustrate how the theme of cycle of violence/upbringing might be used to explain intimate violence. As mentioned, and as highlighted by this man's quote in Appendix F, some feminist theorising consider that it is men's thoughts about women that are integral to violence, the criminogenic needs (drawing on the 'what works' literature), that 'treatment' programmes should target. Hence, the DVP comprised as one of its objectives to educate men about their thoughts about women in intimate relationships in order to end violence.

In explaining themes in point number six and ultimately the use of rehabilitation discourse, the interview extracts from violent men shown in point number six in Appendix F highlight how role-plays and group discussions/interactions might assist them to accept blame and responsibility for violence. Theorising from a positivist stance might view 'factors' like alcohol as integral to men's violence, whereas feminist tenets consider that men purposefully use violence. They are thus ultimately responsible and blameworthy for their abusive behaviours (see Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 2000). The DVP in my study, via group-work, exposed men to this way of thinking.

Reading the last row of the table in this appendix and the theme in point number eight, case managers expressed belief in carrying out work with offenders in individual supervision sessions (see Appendix F and examples in point number eight). As suggested, positivism and feminism view the 'factors' that might be targeted in work with offenders, differently. The 'what works' literature suggests that the case manager is integrated within accredited programmes by them carrying out pre- and post- programme work with offenders in supervision sessions. Post-programme work appears closely aligned with a discourse of rehabilitation because it is said to *prevent* relapse into offending (Merrington and Hine, 2001). The table, via the theme in point number seven, illustrates the minimal contacts made with offenders. Appendix F and point number seven presents quotes from violent men about this. Appendix D further highlights how this theme was reflected in both practitioner's and offender's narratives in interviews. A discussion of these findings, particularly in chapter five, illustrates how the demands on case managers impact upon their tasks. For instance, contacts with offenders (particularly those considered as high-risk) were considered important to enforce orders in accordance with *National Standards*, to ultimately assess, manage and reduce risks of re-offending (see Home Office, 2002a). This then is the use of risk discourse.

Appendix H The Different Domains

Domain	Themes (examples)	‘What Works’ Principles	Discourses	Narrative	
THEMES AS RISKS					
<i>Assessment</i>	Alcohol problem identified	Dynamic Risk ‘Factor’	Risk (assessment, management and reduction of violence)	How to ‘Treat’ Male Intimately Violent Offenders	
	Anger noted				
<i>Case Management</i>	Alcohol connected to violence				
	Anger linked to abuse				
<i>Programme</i>	Alcohol discussed				
	Anger targeted				
<i>Men’s Talk</i>	Alcohol connected to violence				
	Anger linked to abuse				
THEMES AS NEEDS					
<i>Assessment</i>	Attitudes about women documented	Criminogenic Need	Rehabilitation (offender change to end violence)		
	Views about blaming women for abuse noted				
<i>Case Management</i>	Thoughts about women heeded				
	Views that see women as causing the abuse noted				
<i>Programme</i>	Views about women explored				
	Views that blame women for violence challenged				
<i>Men’s Talk</i>	Negative views about women espoused				
	Women blamed for men’s violence				

Appendix I
A Feminist Reading

Themes	Property (Theorising)	‘What Works’ Principles	Discourses	Narrative
Jealousy	Feminism (Power and Control)	Criminogenic Need	Rehabilitation	How to ‘Treat’ Male Intimately Violent Offenders
Intimidation				
Isolation				
Male Privilege				
Victim Blaming		Dynamic Risk ‘Factor’	Risk	
Repetitive (e.g. increasing in severity and frequency)				
Private (in nature)				

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